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ABSTRACT

A program of voluntary national service intended to create new opportunities for citizens to serve their country and each other is proposed by the Democratic Leadership Council. The proposed program would create a Citizens Corps, essentially a new GI Bill, expanded to include civilian as well as military service to the nation. It would be voluntary but strongly encouraged by federal education, job training, and housing benefits. The Citizens Corps would offer, in return for one or two years' service at subsistence wages in either civilian or military service, vouchers worth substantial federal aid for college, vocational or job training, or housing. Under the Citizens Corps, national service vouchers would replace existing grants and loans as the primary source of federal aid to students. Although the chief focus would be on youth service, the Citizens Corps would also enlist a limited number of volunteers over 65 at a modest hourly wage to do administrative and clerical work within the Citizens Corps. The Citizens Corps would be a highly decentralized network of community service projects. The cost for the program is estimated at about $5 billion. (KC)

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CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL SERVICE

A Blueprint for Civic Enterprise

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FOREWORD

By U.S. Senator Sam Nunn

Chairman,
Democratic Leadership Council

With publication of *Citizenship and National Service*, the Democratic Leadership Council submits for public debate a novel blueprint for reviving the American tradition of civic obligation and activism. Detailed in these pages is a comprehensive system of voluntary national service intended to create new opportunities for citizens to serve their country and each other.

The DLC's "Citizens Corps" would essentially be a new G.I. Bill expanded to include civilian as well as military service to the nation. It would enlist young Americans in local efforts to combat such urgent social problems as illiteracy, the lack of child and health care, homelessness, pollution, crime and more. By tying federal benefits to national service, our plan would expand educational opportunity in America while restoring the crucial link between civic duty and public reward.

This initiative is part of the DLC's continuing effort to forge a progressive public philosophy equal to the challenges of governing America in a new political and economic era. While we do not expect Democrats uniformly to embrace its every detail, we believe this national service plan points our party in a creative and compelling direction.

In crafting the Citizens Corps, the DLC has leaned heavily on those who have labored diligently over the years to clarify the complex issues surrounding national service. We owe a special debt of gratitude to Charles Moskos of Northwestern University, who gave generously of his time and counsel and whose insights into national service have been an invaluable guide. We would also like to acknowledge Richard Danzig, Don Eberly, Roger Landrum and Robert Reischauer for their constructive advice and criticism.

Finally, we are grateful to the many DLC members who helped to develop our national service proposal: Charles Robb, Barbara Kennelly, Dave McCurdy, Jim Jones, Bill Clinton and many others. We also appreciate the personal efforts of DLC Policy Director Will Marshall, who drafted the proposal, and Press Secretary Pam Lalonde, who assisted him.

"When the Athenians finally wanted not to give to society, but for society to give to them, when the freedom they wished for most was freedom from responsibility, then Athens ceased to be free."

— Edward Gibbon

Introduction

AWAKENING THE SPIRIT OF CITIZENSHIP

Ours is a land of astonishing diversity. A magnet to immigrants from all over the world, the United States has no common racial, ethnic, religious or cultural identity. What is the force that binds us together as a nation? What does it mean to be an American?

To a unique degree, who we are is defined by what we believe—by our embrace of a set of political and moral precepts based on human freedom and equality. America's social cohesion depends on how faithfully we adhere to these basic ideals, which make up our common civic creed.

The United States was conceived as a revolutionary experiment in popular sovereignty. Americans dispensed with kings and lords and resolved instead to govern themselves by a common law that defines equal rights and responsibilities for all citizens. As long as we remain willing to accept the burdens as well as the benefits of self-government, our democratic experiment will endure. Within that balance—between individual liberty and social responsibility, self-reliance and cooperation, private interest and public duty—lies the essential meaning of citizenship.

The Democratic Leadership Council believes that a strong ethic of civic obligation—of equal sacrifice for the common good—is integral to the success and survival of a free society. That ethic is, as well, the cornerstone of our party's progressive philosophy.

Americans understand that the strength of our social compact ultimately depends not on our weapons or our wealth but on the quality of our citizenship. It is not enough to enjoy freedom; we must also be prepared to defend it. Nor is it enough simply to enrich ourselves; we must also give something back to the commonwealth.

Educating ourselves and our children; voting and taking part in public affairs; respecting the law and the rights of others; serving on the juries by which we administer justice among ourselves; preserving and protecting the public estate, our natural endowment of land, air and water; caring for our fellow citizens who are poor or handicapped or simply unlucky—these too are civic virtues that profoundly shape both the character of our lives and our country's fate.

America today enjoys immense good fortune. We are at peace and most of us have more than the bare necessities of life. Yet this placid portrait is incomplete. Peer a little deeper and a less flattering picture emerges: that of a society in default of some of its most fundamental responsibilities. There is no more disturbing example than the spread of poverty among our children. The case for action is compelling, yet our national leadership conveys no sense of urgency.

Instead, our country often seems distracted and self-absorbed, devoid of a unifying sense of national purpose. Many Americans wonder whether the bedrock values that have sustained our nation's social harmony and guided its progress still command broad popular allegiance. They fear a loosening of the bonds of affection and communal concern that keep us from becoming a nation of strangers.

Though often exaggerated by pessimists who see national decline at every turn, such anxieties cannot be lightly dismissed. The disintegration of the family, especially among the poor, is a social calamity of grim proportions. Teenage pregnancy and illegitimate childbearing; the alarming incidence of crime and drug abuse; episodes of random violence in our streets and rural communities; the swelling ranks of disoriented and homeless people in our cities; the growing isolation of an impoverished and largely minority underclass; unabashed greed and cheating on Wall Street; and the all-too-frequent betrayal by high government officers of their public trust—these everyday realities also signify a fraying of our social fabric.

The breakdown in social comity is reflected as well in a broader loss of public and private competence, a pervasive failure among our leading institutions to accomplish their basic missions and serve the general interest. Citizens wonder: Why can't our political leaders muster the courage to get the federal deficit under control? Why can't our schools impart basic skills and knowledge and, in troubled districts, simply maintain discipline? Why can't we fashion new welfare policies that encourage self-sufficiency rather than dependence? Why can't U.S. businesses innovate, make better products, offer better service and aim for long-term markets rather than short-term profits? Why can't labor and management collaborate to make American industries more competitive in world trade?

These questions indicate the scope and urgency of the nation's unfinished agenda—and the magnitude of the national challenges that the Republican Party has ignored. The duty of political leadership today is to set more exacting standards of excellence for citizens and for society as a whole. Too many national chores have been ignored or put off. To mobilize the national effort necessary to get them done, Democrats must now usher in a new era of civic commitment and public purpose.

Throughout this decade, the spirit of citizenship and common endeavor has languished. For all their talk about traditional values, the Republicans have set the moral tone for a new gilded age—an epoch characterized by avarice and excess; by feverish borrowing and consumption; by speculation and scandal on Wall Street; by corporate myopia and irresponsibility; by public neglect of crying social needs; and by blatant efforts to turn public service to private gain. Small wonder that the emblematic figures of this materialistic age are the corporate raider and the inside trader, or that U.S. college students today say their overriding goal in life is to get rich.

Republican domestic policies have fostered an illusion of well-being, purchasing growth today at the expense of future living standards. Conveniently, they rarely call for sacrifice or self-denial—except from the politically weak. Their message implicitly sanctions moral complacency: Don't worry about the poor—let the rich have more and more will fall from their table; don't get exercised over civil and equal rights—unless the rights of the majority are at issue; don't fret over how we are going to pay our mounting debts—we will borrow from our children before we tax ourselves.

In the prevailing climate of moral indolence, such venerable civic virtues as duty and self-sacrifice and compassion toward one's less fortunate neighbors are seldom invoked. On the contrary, in its rhetoric and actions, the Reagan Administration seems invariably to exalt self-interest over common interests, to put private pursuits ahead of public responsibilities, and to stress individual rewards over the general good.

Certainly government can get too big, too unwieldy and too intrusive. But those who constantly denigrate government also demean the value of concerted action by the American people to achieve broad social and economic progress. In the end, the anti-government stance turns anti-social: it encourages people to turn inward, to think of what they can do by themselves for themselves, not what they can do together for their fellow-citizens and their country.

Nothing better illustrates this attitude than Republican fiscal policy, which strikes at the heart of progressive government. By plunging the federal government into insolvency, the current Administration has succeeded in paralyzing national initiative well into the next.

In the end, this brand of politics seeks to impose the competitive ethic of the market—with its narrow and unforgiving standard of success or failure—on our public life. It sees Americans not as citizens enmeshed in a web of mutual dependence and obligation, but as consumers driven to satisfy purely private wants and whims. It comprehends economic motivation, but not social aspiration.

Self-interest can be a powerful engine of human progress, but only when it is tempered by a vision of the broader public interest. That is how great civilizations are built, and how we must restore America's greatness today. It is time for political leadership to focus on collective responsibilities that have fallen by the wayside during the Reagan years: stimulating upward mobility for all citizens; educating our children for work and citizenship; giving hope to the impoverished; dealing with America's incipient housing crisis; expanding health and child care; maintaining the public facilities that undergird our commerce; assuring clean

air and water; and, restoring sound government finance.

Beyond new policies, the DLC espouses a public philosophy based on civic enterprise and obligation. Our approach to governing rejects both the negativism of the Republicans and the statism that views government as an end rather than a means. It recognizes that without the personal commitment of an active, educated and self-reliant citizenry, government can accomplish little lasting social good.

Given superior leadership, and drawing on the full range of civic and community resources, we are confident that the American people can conquer the challenges facing our country. The answer to our problems lies not in establishing an omniscient state, but in instilling in our citizens a more robust ethic of civic duty and mutual obligation. Indeed, nothing is more likely to invite the growth of government than the failure of civic participation.

Observing the emergence of a democratic social order in the United States of the 1830s, Alexis de Tocqueville was struck by the vibrancy of public life and the widespread custom of forming voluntary associations to advance civic ends. Building on this ingrained tradition of enlightened civic activism, the Democratic Leadership Council herewith proposes a voluntary plan for national service—the Citizens Corps.

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CHAPTER ONE

CITIZENSHIP AND NATIONAL SERVICE: A SUMMARY

"And so, my fellow Americans, ask not what your country can do for you: Ask what you can do for your country."

— President John F. Kennedy, 1961 Inaugural Address

The Citizens Corps

Nearly 30 years ago, a young president challenged the American people to embrace the obligations as well as the rights of citizenship in a free society. The time has come to renew his summons to civic duty and enterprise.

What John F. Kennedy understood, but what is too often forgotten today, is that freedom has a price. That price is not limited to military duty—although there is no more fundamental responsibility of American citizenship than to defend our liberties and independence.

Yet Americans also face an array of national needs that fall beyond the current reach of either the private or public sector. Moreover, many of these needs—like spreading literacy and numeracy—bear crucially on our collective capacity to adapt to the new realities of global commerce and interdependence.

The DLC believes the time has come to answer national need with national service. We propose a comprehensive but voluntary system designed to create new opportunities for citizens to serve each other and their country. The centerpiece of our proposal is a new Citizens Corps that would enlist young and old Americans alike in public service and entitle those volunteers to public reward.

The Citizens Corps is essentially a new G.I. Bill expanded to include civilian as well as military service to the nation. In return for one or two years' service at subsistence wages in either branch, young enlistees would earn vouchers worth substantial federal aid for college, vocational or job training, or housing. Vouchers would help national service veterans go on to acquire education, work skills and capital in the form of home ownership. Under the Citizens Corps, national service vouchers would replace existing grants and loans as the primary source of federal aid to students.

While the chief focus would be on youth service, the Citizens Corps would also enlist a limited number of volunteers over 65. Senior servers could work either full- or part-time and would earn a modest hourly wage instead of vouchers. To help defray the overhead costs of national service, retirees would be assigned to administrative and supervisory tasks within the Citizens Corps itself.

Phased in over a three- or four-year period, the Citizens Corps will be the catalyst for a significant expansion of public service efforts throughout the country. Flexible, tailored to fit local needs and circumstances, the Corps would constitute a national network of grass roots projects, not a vast new bureaucracy centered in Washington.

In brief, the Citizens Corps can serve a variety of important national purposes by:

- ★ Rekindling the ethic of civic obligation in America and spreading the burdens of citizenship more equitably.
- ★ Opening a new route to opportunity and upward mobility for young Americans by offering them public rewards for public service.
- ★ Mobilizing the young to tackle many of the nation's most pressing social problems, especially in such areas of human need as health, education, literacy, child care, hunger, housing and homelessness.
- ★ Bolstering our national strength by encouraging more young men and women to volunteer for military duty and the reserves.
- ★ Tapping the accumulated knowledge and experience of America's growing population of retirees. Uniquely qualified to educate the young, care for children and look after aged and infirm citizens, older Americans also deserve wider opportunities to engage in public service.

★ Putting disadvantaged youths to work in the service of their neighborhoods and communities. Spreading rapidly, local service projects are giving deprived youths the experience, discipline and self-confidence they need to overcome formidable barriers to opportunity.

A New G.I. Bill

One of the most far-sighted and successful federal initiatives of all, the original G.I. Bill of Rights embodied a tacit compact: in return for service in World War II, Korea, and Vietnam, the country offered veterans education, housing and employment benefits.

The G.I. Bill helped to democratize opportunity in the United States, making college and home ownership a reality for millions of Americans who otherwise could have afforded neither. In 1947 alone, over one million veterans took advantage of the G.I. Bill's education benefits. At its peak, the program's annual cost amounted to almost one percent of America's gross national product—equivalent to about $45 billion today. Yet it helped to spark the post-war economic boom that made the U.S. standard of living the envy of the world and laid the material basis for America's rise to global leadership. Few public investments have ever paid more handsome dividends to any nation.

Now, with college and housing costs rising beyond the reach of many American families, and with career opportunities dwindling for high school graduates who lack more than rudimentary job skills, the need for a new program of strategic investment in our people is acute. We propose the Citizens Corps as a means of renewing and enlarging upon the compact of citizenship implicit in the G.I. Bill.

According to Northwestern University sociologist Charles Moskos, the U.S. today has "a G.I. Bill without the G.I.," meaning that Washington makes education benefits (chiefly grants and guaranteed student loans) widely available to citizens who have not served in the military. The Citizens Corps would reforge the crucial link between civic duty and public reward by tying those benefits once again to national service, civilian or military.

How It Would Work

Citizens Corps enlistees would fall into three basic categories:

1) Young civilians who would perform a variety of social services at home or in the Peace Corps for either one or two years;
2) Citizen soldiers who serve in the military or reserves; and,
3) Senior citizens who would perform civilian service tasks on either a part- or full-time basis.

PHOTO: HUMAN ENVIRONMENT CENTER

Errands for the Elderly: Among the many community service projects they undertake, members of New York's City Volunteer Corps deliver groceries to elderly residents. The "graying" of America will test our society's ingenuity in providing vital services to old and infirm citizens.

Civilian service options would vary according to the needs of local communities. Aside from expanding a few national programs such as the Peace Corps and VISTA, the Citizens Corps would mainly create new openings for volunteers in local schools, hospitals, libraries, day care centers, shelters, public and non-profit social agencies, charities, police and criminal justice systems, programs that assist the elderly and conservation projects.

Young men and women who choose military service would either go directly into the reserves after military training or serve two years on active duty. Citizen soldiers would receive less pay than career soldiers, but like their civilian counterparts would earn post-service benefits in the form of national service vouchers.

Retirees would be assigned to the civilian service tasks most appropriate to their maturity and experience. It would be both logical and economical to have them form the administrative backbone of the Citizens Corps. Older volunteers would work flexible schedules and receive, instead of vouchers, an hourly wage intended to supplement their retirement income.

National Service Vouchers

Vouchers could not be redeemed for cash but could be used for any one or any combination of three purposes: to defray college expenses, to finance either vocational or job training, or to make a down payment on a home. For each year of civilian service, enlistees would earn a $10,000 voucher. Because military service entails both greater risks and a longer minimum term of service, citizen soldiers would earn a $12,000 voucher for each year served. If necessary, however, that differential would be adjusted to maintain military recruitment at levels deemed essential to our nation's security.

Existing federal student aid programs would be phased out as national service is phased in. Replacing those programs with vouchers would result in a more stable and generous source of post-secondary education aid. While federal aid programs have been constrained, college costs have been rising sharply: since 1980, costs for public and private colleges have risen by 70 and 90 percent respectively, while family income has grown by only 33 percent. During the same period, federal student aid grew by only three percent after adjusting for inflation.

The DLC believes that, as a matter of national policy, no young American should be denied the opportunity of a college or post-secondary education for lack of money. In our view, allowing all youths to earn education benefits is the best way to fulfill that commitment. Our childrens' education is too important to be left to the vagaries of federal budget policy.

Therefore, we recommend replacing student grants with vouchers, while limiting federally guaranteed loans to national service veterans who meet the needs test. In this way, national service would become the primary way to earn money for college, while borrowing would

become a supplemental source of funding for needy students. One salutary result would be a sharp decline in student indebtedness and defaults, thereby relieving political pressure on federal support for higher education.

These key changes would make federal student aid the magnet for broad participation in the Citizens Corps. In essence, we would replace what are essentially entitlement programs based, often loosely, on need with an earned benefit. For this reason, we think vouchers— unlike the programs they replace—would be politically unassailable. Moreover, a Citizens Corps voucher would offer more aid to students, on average, than either federal loans or grants spread over four years.

As a further incentive for broad participation in national service, we would encourage public universities and vocational institutes to give preference in admissions policy to veterans of the Citizens Corps.

Like existing student aid programs, the Citizens Corps would equalize opportunity for college-bound youth from poor and low-to middle-income families. But it would also benefit a group that derives no benefit from college aid: the "forgotten half" of our youth population who do not attend college. The DLC strongly believes they too deserve a chance to do better; that is why vouchers could also be used to finance vocational or job training or to make a down payment on a home.

Administration

As a grass roots network of community service projects, the Citizens Corps would not require a large or intrusive public bureaucracy. Administrative responsibility would be divided between the U.S. Defense Department and a small public corporation patterned on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. As conceived by Moskos, the Corporation for National Service would set broad policy and make matching grants to local authorities; it would fund, but not deliver, public services. To achieve maximum decentralization, the day to day operations of national service will be run by state, local and private nonprofit agencies.

A more detailed blueprint for the Citizens Corps begins on page 35.

Costs and Benefits

The costs of voluntary national service are difficult to calculate. A key variable is the level of participation. For a large scale program with 800,000 enlistees, we estimate the annual net new cost to Washington at roughly $5 billion. That figure represents pay and overhead expenses, as we assume that the costs of national service vouchers will be offset by changes in existing student aid programs, which cost the federal government over $8 billion a year. Moreover, we recommend

that costs be shared with states, localities and non-profit organizations to ensure that all participants have a stake in running efficient and effective community service projects. (See page 42 for a detailed discussion of costs.)

We are convinced that the returns on our investment in national service will amply justify the costs. In assessing the true value of national service, the question of cost avoidance is crucial. Many of the tasks envisioned here are targeted on conditions like poor education and the lack of adequate child and health care, which, if not tackled now, will engender much larger social costs later. By mobilizing Americans to attack such corrosive ills at their roots, national service can save us billions of dollars in remediation costs down the road.

Consider, for example, the costs of widespread illiteracy. Each year, U.S. businesses spend billions to train poorly educated youths in the basic skills necessary to handle entry-level jobs. And governments shell out billions more for unemployment, welfare, police and prisons. Surely it makes better economic sense to make a modest investment in national service—in order to enlist citizens in a new offensive on illiteracy and poor education in general.

National service represents a dual social investment: once in the people who receive services, and again in those who deliver them. For many young people, the road to college and wider horizons will run through the Citizens Corps. For them and for society, college scholarship aid is money well spent: the average college graduate can expect lifetime earnings about $640,000 greater than someone who didn't go to college, and $460,000 more than someone who started college but did not finish.

In Summary

The DLC believes that a large-scale system of voluntary national service would serve America's vital interests in four principal ways:

First, through national service, we can galvanize a new spirit of civic enterprise in America. Just as frontier settlers banded together to ensure their mutual safety and establish churches, schools and public institutions, so must Americans today pool their efforts to overcome formidable obstacles to our nation's social and economic progress.

Second, national service offers a non-bureaucratic and decentralized model for the delivery of human services to needy citizens. Rather than relying on new mandates from Washington, our plan is intended to strengthen local civic and community resources that are intermediate between the individual and the nation.

Third, by rewarding public service with public benefits, national service can be a catalyst for upward mobility—a strategic investment in the knowledge, skills and productive potential of our young people.

Fourth, because it embodies a civic compact in which benefits are earned, not given, national service can broaden the political base of support for new public initiatives that otherwise would not be possible in the current era of budgetary restraint.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE CASE FOR NATIONAL SERVICE

"A DEBT OF SERVICE IS DUE FROM EVERY MAN TO HIS COUNTRY PROPORTIONED TO THE BOUNTIES WHICH NATURE AND FORTUNE HAVE MEASURED TO HIM."

— THOMAS JEFFERSON

BEYOND THE DRAFT

To avoid confusion, we wish to underscore that our national service plan is not designed to revive the military draft. Indeed, the vast majority of Citizens Corps volunteers would work in civilian tasks. While some of our members may indeed support conscription, the DLC as a whole endorses voluntary national service as an alternative well suited to our country's traditions and contemporary needs.

There are several reasons for choosing a broader program of civilian and military service over a return to conscription. First, the All-Volunteer Force has rebounded strongly since its low ebb in the 1970s and seems to enjoy public backing. Second, women have demanded and won a place in the armed forces—though not in sufficient numbers to justify subjecting them to a draft. Third, a draft would give no constructive role to older citizens, many of whom are well-educated,

financially secure and may well prefer public service to an inactive retirement. And, fourth, a draft would not address the nation's growing array of nonmilitary needs as Americans adapt to new economic and political conditions.

The deeper America's involvement in the global economy, the more urgent is the need to tackle stubbornly persistent domestic problems. For example, the United States cannot afford to tolerate widespread functional illiteracy—particularly as knowledge and information are becoming the key commodities of the world economy. Likewise, we need to redouble efforts to prepare poor and minority youths for the demands of a changing labor market, especially as they will constitute a growing proportion of our work force. And, as women continue to pursue their own careers, or work to supplement family income, we need to assure safe, affordable day care for their children.

In short, Americans are increasingly defining national strength in social and economic as well as military terms. By adding a civilian alternative to military service, the Citizens Corps can help prepare our people for the challenges of a global economy.

And it can do so in a cost-effective and unobtrusive way. In their 1986 study, *National Service: What Would it Mean?*, authors Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton note that a voluntary program of national service is less likely to raise the specter of a costly boondoggle run by an overbearing state. "A volunteerist approach also reduces the chances that national service might become a self-perpetuating folly and an administrative burden. A compulsory program might outlive its usefulness; a voluntary one must at least repeatedly meet the market test of recruitment," they write.

National Service and Public Opinion

National service is the object of increasing public interest, as shown by a spate of service proposals introduced in Congress, by the growth of advocacy groups like the Coalition for National Service, Youth Service America, Campus Compact and COOL (Campus Outreach Opportunity League), and, most significantly, by the expansion of community service programs in schools, cities and states across the country.

Nationwide surveys consistently show strong public support for national service. A Gallup poll of teenagers in early 1987 found that 62 percent favored service for young men and 56 percent for young women. More recently, a December, 1987 survey found that general public support for voluntary national service has risen to 83 percent (with only 11 percent opposed)—the most favorable response since Gallup began polling on the question in 1969. And while over 80 percent of each age group favors voluntary national service, the highest ratio of support—87 to six percent—was recorded among those who would serve: 18-24 year olds.

Opportunities for youth service multiply as state and local youth Conservation Corps spread rapidly throughout the country. Often tailored to the needs of disadvantaged youths, conservation corps have grown from two full-time programs in 1981 to more than 40 today.

That is almost identical to the findings of an October, 1987 survey commissioned by the DLC to examine the attitudes of a key segment of the electorate: southern swing voters. An overwhelming majority (87 percent) of the nearly 500 respondents said they favored "a national program for military and civilian service for both young men and women that would be voluntary but strongly encouraged through access to G.I. Bill-type benefits, like college scholarships and home mortgages." Only nine percent were opposed.

Even compulsory national service draws the support of a majority of Americans. The most recent Gallup poll found that 55 percent of the public favors obligatory service for young men, though that figure is the lowest in 20 years. There was a slight rise—to 44 percent—in public support for mandatory service for women.

A more tangible sign of the new impetus behind national service is the dramatic growth over the last six years of state and local youth service programs. While only two full-time programs were functioning in 1981—the California Conservation Corps and the Ohio Conservation Corps—19 states across the nation today operate 40 year-round programs and another 100 summer programs. Pennsylvania, Minnesota, Ohio and Vermont are also planning large-scale youth service programs.

Leading educators around the country increasingly view public service as an integral part of the mission of public and civic education. According to Youth Service America, more than 300 colleges and uni-

versities sponsor community service programs involving hundreds of thousands of students, while similar programs operate in 3,000 public and private high schools across the country. The Atlanta public school system recently became the nation's first to require students to perform public service before graduating.

Finally, at the federal level, nine bills relating to national service have been introduced in Congress, ranging from expansion of current programs like the Peace Corps to reinstatement of the draft. (See Appendix D).

The Student Aid Dilemma

Federal student aid programs are caught in the crosswinds of conflicting trends—mounting pressure to reduce the federal budget deficit and escalating college costs. As previously noted, costs for public and private colleges have far outstripped the growth in family income and in federal support for higher education.

Aid programs include outright grants, principally Pell and student equal opportunity grants (see Appendix B for a full profile of the major federal programs). About 3.7 million students from low-income families use these grants to help pay for college or vocational schools. More than three-fourths of Pell grant recipients come from families whose income is $15,000 or less.

However, grants have not kept pace with soaring education costs. In 1980, the maximum Pell grant covered over 40 percent of the average tuition bill, compared to only 29 percent today. The Citizens Corps would reverse that trend by replacing grants with vouchers that would, on average, more than double the value of federal student aid.

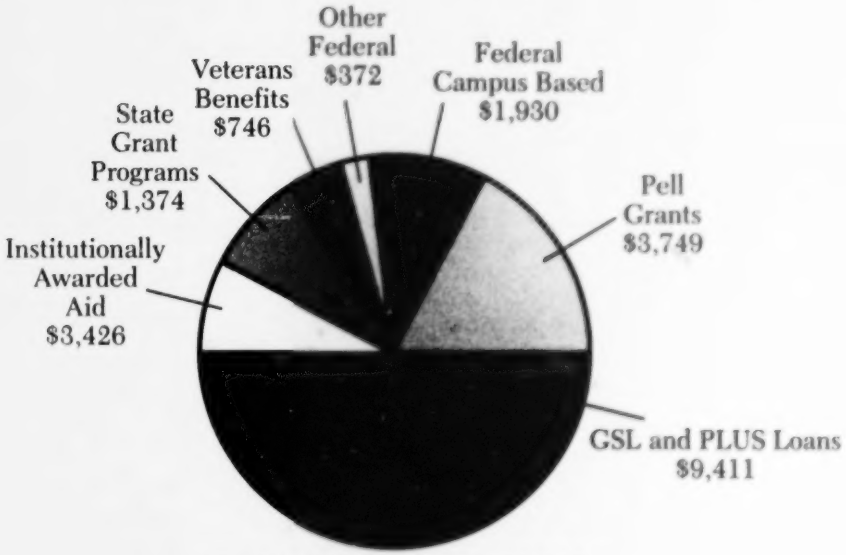
The other major federal aid programs— college work study, guaranteed student loans and Perkins loans—benefit over five million students. Though ostensibly tied to need, in practice these loans can and often do go to students from relatively affluent families. According to Robert Reischauer of the Brookings Institution, it is even possible for youths from families with incomes over $100,000 a year to qualify for a guaranteed student loan. He writes:

"Inequities and perverse incentives abound in the need analysis process. The family that chooses to profligately spend all of its income is treated more favorably than the family that has prudently saved a bit each year for its child's education. The family in which both parents work is at a slight disadvantage relative to the family in which only one parent is in the labor force. The family that need not save for retirement because it will benefit from a generous employer-sponsored pension system is favored over the family that has to accumulate assets because it is not covered by an employer-provided pension plan."

Such defects have come to light over the last decade, as the emphasis of federal student aid has shifted markedly from grants and work-study to guaranteed loans. (The percentage of student aid provided in the form of loans leapt from 21 in 1976 to 66 today.) The resulting

ESTIMATED STUDENT AID BY SOURCE FOR ACADEMIC YEAR 1985-86

(1987 DOLLARS IN MILLIONS)



Total Aid Awarded = $21,008

SOURCE: THE COLLEGE BOARD

trend toward greater student indebtedness has coincided with declining college enrollment among youths from low-income and minority families.

From 1980 to 1986, the proportion of students from blue collar families enrolling in college dropped by about one-fifth. The percentage of black high school graduates entering college dropped from 34 in 1976 to 25 in 1985; for Hispanics the decline was from 36 to 27 percent. According to Moskos, "The prospect of student-incurred debt is undoubtedly a major factor in the declining number of poor youth entering and completing college." Indeed, since 1980, student indebtedness has increased by 60 percent.

Meanwhile, a combination of the flawed needs test, rapid growth in loan volume and soaring annual default rates (from $200 million in 1981 to $1.6 billion in 1987) has brought growing political pressure to curtail the guaranteed loan program. Moreover, the U.S. Department of Education has threatened to expel from the program schools with a default rate over 20 percent, a blow that would fall hardest on historically black colleges and universities as well as for-profit trade and vocational schools.

Facing a growing gap between soaring college costs on one side, and low family savings and endangered student aid programs on the other, low-income and middle-class Americans alike are anxiously asking themselves whether their children will be able to go to college.

In our view, the solution is not to expand the student loan program and risk creating an indentured class of graduates who can't repay their loans. Rather, it is to replace grants with Citizens Corps vouchers and limit loans to eligible youths who have performed (or commit to perform) national service.

For financially needy students, borrowing would thus become a secondary way to pay for college or vocational school. Fewer students would have to go deep in debt to graduate and the federal government would realize significant savings from reduced subsidies and defaults. Such a move would also put student aid on more solid political ground, since it would be earned by performing work of value to society.

In our view, these changes would make national service attractive to the following: poor youths whose grants are insufficient to pay for college, and who fear incurring debts from student loans; low-income and middle-income youths who likewise would like to graduate unencumbered by debts that could take as many as 10 years to repay; people who intend to work their way through college and want to get a head start; those who plan to share college costs with their parents; and those who find the existing array of federal student aid programs insufficient to cover costs at expensive private institutions.

Will voluntary national service attract youths from well-to-do families? From a purely economic standpoint, they obviously will have less incentive to volunteer. Yet many Americans are motivated by civic impulses and peer example as well as by self-interest. Historically, people who volunteer for community service tend to be above average in education and income. And college graduates continue to swamp the Peace Corps with applications despite negligible pay.

Young people from affluent backgrounds may see in national service a chance to pause and contemplate their future; others may seek a challenge or an outlet for idealism. In time, as national service grows and becomes for increasing numbers of young people a rite of passage to adulthood and an emblem of citizenship, privileged youths may well come to feel a social obligation to participate.

The Forgotten Half

Since roughly half of all U.S. high school graduates do not go on to attend college, a comprehensive and fair national service plan cannot offer benefits in the form of college aid alone. In designing the Citizens Corps, we have also sought to close an unconscionable deficit of societal concern shown to youths whose formal education ends in high school.

Their plight is vividly documented in "The Forgotten Half: Non-College Youth in America," a January 1988 report by the William T. Grant Foundation Commission on Work, Family and Citizenship. The Commission states:

"Youth today, especially those who do not go to college, find it increasingly difficult to match changing market demands. Their situation is complicated by international and domestic market changes, insufficient investment in education and training, and wrenching changes in family and community life. Unless there is substantial intervention, we can expect this shrinking labor pool to include a growing proportion of young people likely to be poor and at increased risk of school failure and related problems."

DIFFERENCES IN MEAN INCOME AMONG 20-24 YEAR OLD MEN, 1973-1986. BY EDUCATION AND RACE/ETHNIC GROUP

(IN 1985 DOLLARS)

	All Males (20-24)		% Change in Earnings 1973-1986			
	1973	1986	All	White (Non-Hispanic)	Black	Hispanic
All Males	$11,939	$ 8,859	-25.8	-20.1	-46.1	-29.1
Dropouts	11,595	6,725	-42.1	-42.4	-60.6	-27.3
High School Graduates	14,937	10,720	-28.3	-24.4	-43.8	-34.5
Some College	12,864	10,756	-16.4	-11.4	-42.7	-21.2
College Graduates	14,357	13,502	- 6.0	- 5.6	+ 6.5	N.A.

Note: *Earnings data pertain only to those 20-24 year-old males who did not cite school as their major activity at the time of the March 1974 and March 1987 surveys.*

SOURCE: THE WILLIAM T. GRANT FOUNDATION

While the federal government has been generous in providing college aid, few public policies are aimed at improving the prospects of youths who are not college-bound. "To fail in providing opportunities for our non-college-bound youth will be just as damaging, and just as costly for our nation's future, as to fail to seek excellence for our college-educated youth," the Grant Foundation report states.

We envision the Citizens Corps as a vehicle for an intensified national effort to help "the forgotten half" acquire the advanced skills necessary for high-paying jobs. Under our proposal, Citizens Corps vouchers would offer volunteers who don't attend college benefits of equal value to pursue two other traditional paths of upward mobility in our society: vocational (or job) training and home ownership.

Say, for example, that a Citizens Corps graduate decides to attend a technical institute at a cost of $6,000. He or she would endorse over that amount of the national service voucher to the institute, leaving the balance for other uses: perhaps for further training elsewhere or as part of a down payment on a starter home.

Moreover, Citizens Corps vouchers can help underwrite the expansion of job training opportunities for non-college bound youths. Innovative state and local learning projects, as well as public-private job partnerships, are essential if these youths are to acquire the skills, the flexibility and mobility they will need to adjust to rapid changes in the labor market. Another possible use for vouchers is as a wage subsidy for youths who get valuable on-the-job training from their employers.

In short, national service can help us address a glaring inequity in our society: a growing skills gap that threatens to condemn millions of non-college-bound youth to marginal jobs and shrinking opportunities. By giving them the means to choose among an array of public and private employment and training programs, Citizens Corps vouchers will enable the "forgotten half" to enhance their career prospects and, ultimately, their productive role in society.

A final way in which national service vouchers would promote opportunity, equity and community is by helping to bring home ownership back within reach of young Americans. The *Wall Street Journal* reports that after peaking in 1980 at 65 percent, the percentage of Americans who own homes has been falling for the first time since the 1930s.

Young couples have been hit hardest by the decline: according to Harvard University's Joint Center for Housing Studies, 36 percent of people aged 25-29 owned a home in 1987, down from 43 percent in 1976.

Home prices have risen faster than family incomes. Urban Institute economist Joseph J. Minarik writes: "The typical 30-year-old man purchasing the median-price home under typical mortgage terms would have incurred carrying costs equal to 14 percent of his income in 1949, 16 percent in 1959, 21 percent in 1973 and 44 percent in 1983. This escalation of the carrying cost of housing bore particularly heavily on younger families; many had trouble assembling funds for down payments, and many found monthly payments unmanageable."

Moreover, rents are also rising faster than income, making it difficult to save for a down payment even for families that might be able to afford the monthly payments. Not surprisingly, the poor are hardest hit by this phenomenon: single-parent families, which are disproportionately poor, devoted about a third of their household income to rent in 1974, compared to a whopping 58 percent last year.

By earmarking vouchers for down payments as well as post-secondary education and training, national service would help young people break into the housing market. Bigger down payments would mean lower carrying costs, bringing home ownership into reach for many families on the economic margin. An indirect effect will be to stimulate further construction and expand the nation's housing stock, helping both the hard-pressed middle class and the poor. Finally, we also foresee a role for vouchers in experimental efforts to sell public housing to deserving tenants.

The use of national service vouchers for education, job training and housing is central to the DLC's strategy of fostering a more democratic capitalism that spreads economic power and capital ownership to more hard-working American families.

National Service and Demographic Trends

"Between 1980 and 1996, our youth population, ages 15-24, is expected to fall 21 percent...These falling numbers will drastically alter the characteristics of the nation's labor pool, higher education enrollments, armed forces recruiting..."

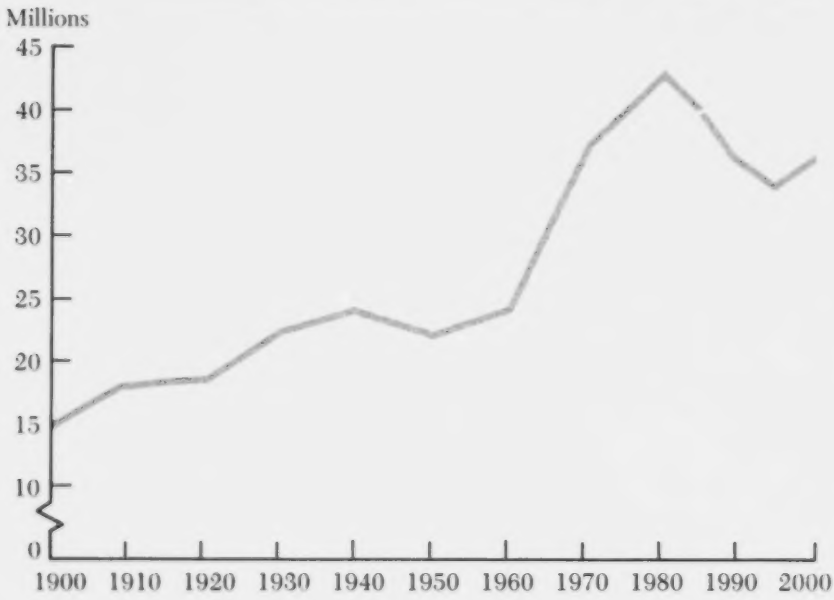
James R. Wetzel,
American Youth A Statistical Snapshot

Demographic changes resulting from the baby boom and subsequent baby bust also have stoked interest in national service as a way to use our nation's human resources more effectively in the years ahead.

The decline of post-baby boom births in the late 1960s and early 1970s is producing a steadily diminishing number of Americans aged 15 to 24. From a high of 42.7 million in 1980, the number of 15-24 year olds is expected to drop to 34.0 million in 1992, a 21 percent decline.

America's Youth Population

America's youth population, age 15-24, in the Twentieth Century.



SOURCE: THE WILLIAM T. GRANT FOUNDATION

Today roughly 3.7 million people turn 18 each year. This number should drop to around 3.2 million in 1992, after which the children of the baby boomers will begin swelling the ranks of the youth population. Still, the low birth rates of the 1980s and the continuing preference for smaller families suggest that our youth population (ages 18-24) will not return to the huge proportion (18.8 percent) it reached at its peak in 1980. The young make up 16.3 percent of the total population today and should fall to about 13 percent by 1996.

These demographic changes have important implications for national defense. Some military manpower experts predict that the shrinking youth population will mean significantly fewer potential recruits, rising costs, declining quality and major changes in our present recruitment system.

In a 1984 study, *America's Volunteer Military: Progress and Prospects,* Martin Binkin of the Brookings Institution predicted that in order to maintain the same number of recruits in 1991 that it now has, the U.S. Army will have to enlist 55 percent of eligible 18-year-old males, compared to only 42 percent in 1981. That estimate also assumes that the military will not need a larger force and that the number of college enrollees will not rise.

PROPORTION OF QUALIFIED AND AVAILABLE MALES REQUIRED FOR MILITARY SERVICE, SELECTED PERIODS, 1981-95

THOUSANDS UNLESS OTHERWISE INDICATED

Category	*Annual average*		
	1981-83	*1984-88*	*1991-95*
Total eighteen-year-old males	2,049	1,827	1,637
Minus: Nonavailable	626	552	489
Institutionalized	31	27	25
College enrollees less first- or second-year dropouts	595	525	464
Minus: Unqualified	576	526	461
Mental	363	337	291
Physical or moral	213	189	170
Equals: Qualified and available male pool	847	749	687
Total male recruit requirements	354	376	376
Active forces	270	278	278
Reserve forces	84	98	98
Percent of pool required	42	50	55

SOURCE: MARTIN BINKIN, AMERICA'S VOLUNTEER ARMY

Nor are numbers all that count, Binkin noted: "In addition to the prospect that the military services may have to attract **more** recruits

is the possibility that they may have to seek **better** recruits: that is, those possessing aptitudes for absorbing more complex technical training. As the armed forces field increasingly sophisticated weapons systems, their requirements for specialists and technicians are expected to grow."

Not all agree that demographic trends will lead to a recruitment pinch. An Air Force study undertaken for the House Armed Services Committee in 1984 concluded that "the declining male population, by itself, is not a great cause for alarm." The study cited the increase in women in the labor force and the military, a predicted fall in college enrollment among young men and immigration growth as factors mitigating any recruiting problems created by population decline.

According to Moskos, each year the armed forces must recruit roughly 400,000 enlistees into both active and reserve duty (an additional 50,000 officers are also recruited). Of those recruited into the enlisted ranks, about a tenth will be female. In the mid-1980s, with about 1.9 million males turning 19 each year, one in five had to enlist to maintain current force levels. In the 1990s, as the male cohort falls to 1.6 million, about one in four males will have to enlist. Screening out those who are ineligible for military service for mental, medical or other reasons, the ratio drops to one in three.

Faced with a similar drop in the number of draft-age youths, several European countries are adjusting their length of service requirements. In West Germany, for example, where the defense ministry has projected a 10 percent decline in the Bundeswehr ranks, the required length of service will expand from 15 to 18 months in 1989. Yet it is feared that even such steps will not sufficiently offset the population dip.

While the youth pool is shrinking, the number of Americans aged 65 or over is rapidly expanding. In 1930, the elderly accounted for six percent of our population. Today, they comprise 12 percent and are expected by 2030 to make up 21 percent.

This "graying" trend will have profound consequences for domestic policy, particularly in the areas of health and retirement security. How will America manage the retirement of the baby boom generation—the 75 million people born between 1946 and 1964—particularly when the labor force and the payroll taxes it generates are shrinking? The inexorable growth of such entitlement programs as Social Security and Medicare, at the expense of investment in other purposes, already has raised serious questions of equity between generations.

Though it brings tough choices, the aging trend also presents an opportunity for creative thinking about how America can capitalize on the enormous knowledge and experience of millions of Americans over 65. Today's generation of retirees is the best educated and most financially secure in our history. Many have the time, ability and desire to render important social services, especially to children and to other elderly Americans who need society's care.

The DLC believes the nation needs new public policies that accommodate these momentous demographic changes; that is why we designed the Citizens Corps to include branches for both youth and senior service.

No obligation is more fundamental to citizenship than that of preserving our free institutions. While all wage-earning citizens contribute to the common defense by paying taxes, only a fraction assume the personal risk and sacrifice of military service. The latter deserve, and, through the G.I. Bill receive, special consideration from the society they protect.

In a democracy, however, citizenship requires not just sharing burdens, but sharing them equally. That is why Americans should be concerned that our armed forces today are not representative of society as a whole.

Minorities are disproportionately represented: according to the Defense Manpower Data Center, they comprise 38 percent of today's enlisted ranks in the Army and nearly 30 percent for all four military branches. In contrast, minorities make up only 14 percent of the civilian labor force.

The advent of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF) brought a striking increase in the percentage of blacks in uniform. Binkin notes that in 1964, blacks made up 12 percent of Army enlistees, in line with their percentage of the overall population. That proportion nearly tripled, reaching 33 percent in 1981 before falling to about 22 percent, where it has remained since 1983. Binkin calculates that about 42 percent of qualified black youth entered the military, compared to 14 percent of qualified whites.

Given such statistics, it is widely assumed that the military draws heavily from the ranks of the poor and low-income families for its recruits. While there is little hard evidence regarding the socio-economic composition of the AVF, a Rand Corporation study in the late 1970s found that, based on address zip codes, the percentage of recruits from higher income brackets was disproportionately low. The Pentagon, which has

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITIES IN ENLISTED RANKS
BY RACE/ETHNIC GROUP, 1986

Service	Black (Non-Hispanic)	Hispanic	Other Minorities	Total Minorities
ARMY	22.4	3.9	3.5	29.8
NAVY	17.3	5.8	3.6	26.6
MARINE CORPS	17.1	4.8	4.8	26.6
AIR FORCE	16.1	2.4	3.3	21.8
Total DOD	19.1	4.2	3.6	26.9
Civilian Population *(Ages 18-21)*	14.7	—	2.9	17.8

SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE.

PERCENTAGE OF MINORITIES IN ACTIVE FORCES, 1973-1986

FISCAL YEAR	ARMY	NAVY	MARINE CORPS	AIR FORCE	DOD
1973	24.6	15.3	24.6	17.9	20.2
1974	28.4	16.5	26.2	19.0	22.4
1975	29.6	16.5	26.7	19.6	20.7
1976	31.3	16.6	25.9	19.9	24.0
Transition Quarter	35.5	17.5	26.7	20.0	25.2
1977	34.5	17.8	27.1	20.3	25.7
1978	37.7	18.6	29.0	20.8	27.4
1979	41.0	19.9	31.7	22.0	29.6
1980	41.3	20.6	30.8	23.7	30.3
1981	41.6	21.2	29.9	24.1	30.5
1982	40.9	21.6	28.9	24.5	30.3
1983	39.2	22.2	27.6	24.3	29.6
1984	38.2	22.6	27.0	24.2	29.2
1985	37.6	23.1	27.8	24.3	29.2
1986	37.6	24.0	28.7	24.3	29.4

not examined the social and economic background of volunteers since 1979, recently commissioned the Defense Manpower Data Center to design such a survey and expects to have annual data after 1988. We applaud this overdue step.

Some Pentagon officials argue that, from the standpoint of military effectiveness, there is no need for the make-up of our armed forces to reflect the population at large. Even if that is true, we believe that an unrepresentative army undermines the civic ethic of equal sacrifice. As Moskos writes, "Whatever one's value judgment on the AVF, the irreducible fact remains that without a citizen-soldier component, the most privileged elements of our youth population, the children of the rich and the upper-middle class, will not be found in the enlisted ranks of the armed forces."

The military has become for many low-income Americans, and particularly minorities, an employer of last resort. That is not, in itself, objectionable: throughout our history military service has always been an honorable path to self-advancement. Yet no matter how well we pay them, we cannot ask the poor and underprivileged alone to defend us while our more fortunate sons and daughters take a free ride, forging ahead with their education and careers.

More than simple fairness is at stake. We must also ask ourselves: how long can a democratic republic survive if its most fortunate and capable citizens—America's future leaders—feel little obligation to contribute to its defense and well-being? And how can those leaders be expected to grasp the complexities of defense policy without any first-hand experience with the military?

Short of universal conscription, no national service plan can guarantee that the burdens of citizenship will be borne equally. But we believe the Citizens Corps would broaden the scope of participation in national service in three ways: First, it would offer new enlistment options for upwardly mobile youths who do not seek a career in the military. Second, it would create new civilian alternatives, so that more people—especially women and retirees, whose current service options are limited—could participate. Third, it would attract many college-bound youths by making national service a prerequisite for receiving federal student aid.

A Prepared Defense

"Rather than looking backward toward conscription, we ought to look forward to a state of affairs where the model of the citizen soldier can be subsumed within a broad concept of comprehensive national service for youth. This can be done only if the AVF is placed in a new social and moral context, one which reconciles citizen rights and citizen duties. A growing expectation of voluntary service among youth generally will improve the climate of military recruitment without resort to ever higher compensation for recruits or ever higher reliance on career soldiers."

Charles E. Moskos, *A Call to Civic Service*

National service can make an important contribution to our nation's security by broadening the military's recruitment pool and training base. An influx of "citizen soldiers" in the armed forces and the reserves can help them meet manpower and quality requirements today and as the youth population shrinks in the years ahead.

Since 1964, the peacetime level of our armed forces has declined from 2.6 million to 2.1 million. When the All-Volunteer Force was established in 1973, it was assumed that a larger reserve force would balance a smaller active force. Should a war start, the Individual Ready Reserves (IRR) would mobilize and reinforce the active duty units. This was called the "Total Force" concept.

But IRR levels have decreased as well, with the shortfall estimated as high as 350,000. The total of all active and reserve forces is now one million less than in the peacetime draft era. In a mobilization, the United States could find itself direly short of trained and ready soldiers. In peacetime, this shortage undermines the credibility of our policy of deterrence, especially as we move away from reliance on nuclear weapons to keep the balance in Europe.

Citizen soldiers can help fill this breach. Whether they go directly into the reserves, or are discharged into the reserves after two years of active duty, citizen soldiers would expand the pool of trained manpower available to our country in the event of a general call-up.

While some defense planners fear that civilian national service alternatives might compete with the military for recruits, we believe it is more likely that the armed forces ultimately will find it easier to recruit in a climate of growing volunteerism and civic spirit. In its 1979 study, Youths and the Needs of the Nation, the Potomac Institute reached the same conclusion:

"As the idea of voluntary service becomes more widely accepted among the young, the numbers who will choose to serve through the military should increase. Thus the move toward universal National Service should make military recruiting easier, and help restore the tradition of citizen-soldier now giving way to a mercenary system."

Manpower Quality and Costs

In terms of manpower quality, the AVF hit a low ebb in the late 1970s. Binkin cites three main economic reasons for the precipitous fall in recruit quality: a decline in military pay as compared to civilian pay; a drop in youth unemployment; and the demise of the original G.I. Bill along with the concurrent expansion of non-military federal student aid programs. As the armed forces struggled to recruit and retain a sufficient number of qualified males, an influx of women with high school degrees prevented the picture from growing even bleaker.

The turnaround began in 1980, when Congress raised quality standards and enacted substantial increases in pay, bonuses and benefits. Other factors—recession, intensified recruitment and a waning of the anti-military passions of the post-Vietnam period—also helped reduce attrition rates and attract more qualified volunteers to the armed forces. Improved post-service benefits and the two-year enlistment also have helped the military make impressive strides over the past seven years in improving the educational status and mental ability of recruits.

Today, over 90 percent of new recruits have high school diplomas (compared to 66 percent in 1977-1980). In the late 1970s, half of all male army recruits scored in the lowest acceptable category on aptitude tests; by 1984—a banner year for recruitment—12 percent scored in the lowest mental category. That figure was only four percent in 1987.

In light of such statistics, proponents of the AVF, including the Association of the United States Army, have argued that the superiority of a volunteer military over a draft or national service should be acknowledged. But the real question is: can the military's recent progress be sustained as the youth population shrinks? Will manpower costs continue soaring as the Pentagon struggles to keep military pay competitive with civilian pay? Moreover, higher test scores and retention rates do not resolve the question of representativeness: does our

volunteer force reasonably reflect the society it defends? Does it include our best and brightest? We believe it should.

The Citizens Corps can help us address such concerns within the context of the All-Volunteer Force. While retaining the advantages of a highly trained and motivated professional force, it would build upon incentives that have already proved successful in attracting a broader cross-section of society into military service: shorter enlistments and more generous G.I. Bill-style benefits. By expanding the reservoir of potential recruits, national service can help assure better representation and high troop quality despite the coming demographic squeeze.

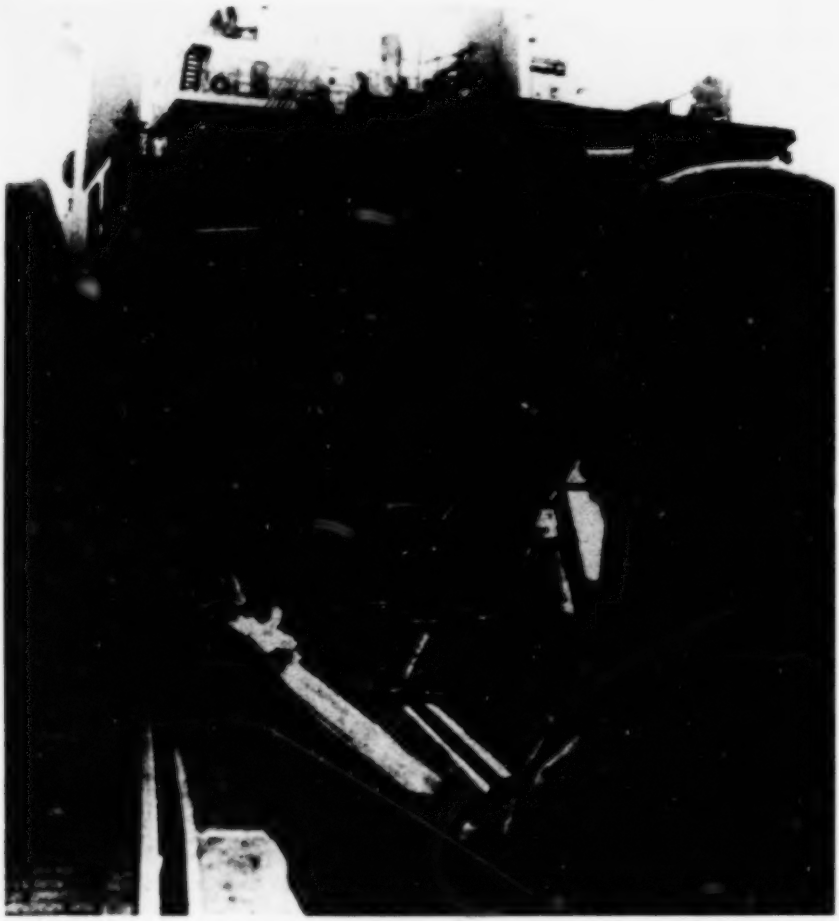


PHOTO: U.S. ARMY

Women in Uniform: Women have earned an important role in the All-Volunteer Force, where they now make up about 10 percent of the enlisted ranks. The influx of women has helped the military to achieve progress in such measures of recruit quality as education and mental aptitude.

In essence, our proposal revives the spirit of the original G.I. Bill of Rights, which was responsible for the college education of over 18 million U.S. military veterans from 1944 to 1976. In 1977, the G.I. Bill was replaced by the Veteran's Educational Assistance Program (VEAP), under which the federal government gave a three-for-one matching contribution to military personnel who set aside part of their salary for their post-service education or training. According to some manpower analysts, the replacement of the G.I. Bill with VEAP was responsible for a five to 10 percent decline in high-school graduate enlistment by 1979. To combat this trend, the government in 1981 added "kickers" to the Army's VEAP, allowing for four-to-one or even six-to-one matching grants from government for certain enlistees.

In 1985, Congress replaced VEAP with a new G.I. Bill that provided more generous education benefits while reducing the contribution required of participants. For a maximum contribution of $1,200, participants who serve two years in the military receive a total of $9,000 ($250 a month for 36 months after completing service). Those who serve three years receive $10,800 ($300 dollars a month for 36 months). In addition, some three-year volunteers in positions that demand critical skills are eligible for a kicker of up to an additional $400 a month, for a total maximum benefit of $25,200.

The new G.I. Bill also made education benefits available for the first time to those who go directly into the reserves. Volunteers who sign up for six years of active reserve duty receive $5,040 in G.I. benefits ($140 a month for 36 months) in addition to normal pay.

It is widely thought that better G.I. benefits, sweetened by kickers, have helped all the military branches and especially the Army to improve enlistment and retention rates as well as the quality of recruits. Moskos believes that rising test scores among two-year enlistees indicate that more middle class youths have been attracted to military service by this short enlistment option, which was added in 1983.

With the creation of the All-Volunteer Army, military service became less a civic duty than an occupation. Market wages were intended to replace compulsion as the chief means of meeting manpower requirements. Not surprisingly, maintaining a high-quality volunteer force has proved to be an expensive proposition.

Manpower costs in the volunteer army far exceed those during the draft era. For example, in 1986, Moskos calculates that defense manpower costs for active, reserve and retired personnel came to $117 billion. In 1964, those costs totaled only $84 billion (also in 1986 dollars), even though there were a half-million more people in uniform. In per capita terms, each active duty serviceman cost $17,342 in 1964 and $28,769 in 1986, an increase of 66 percent. These figures do not include military retirement costs, which totaled $16 billion—$7,000 per soldier—in 1986.

Moskos predicts that a citizen soldier option would dramatically lower per capita manpower costs. By steering volunteers to a shorter, two-year enlistment, it would attract more college-bound youths, whose attrition rate has been much less than other recruits. Non-career soldiers would be paid less, require less in housing, family and moving allowances, receive no pensions and, perhaps most important, remain

COMPARISON OF DEFENSE MANPOWER COSTS, 1964 VS. 1986

(1986 Constant Dollars)

	1964	1986
Direct Active Duty Manpower	$43.1 billion	$ 47.8 billion
Family Housing	1.8	2.8
Personnel Support (e.g. medical, recruitment, schools)	6.0	11.8
Reserve Components	2.5	6.4
Retired Military Pay	4.2	17.3
Civilian Pay	26.3	31.3
Total	83.9 billion	117.4 billion
Numbers of Personnel:		
Active Duty Military	2,687,000	2,169,000
Selected Reserve	953,000	1,130,000
Civilian	1,175,000	1,112,000
Total	4,815,000	4,411,000
Per Capita Costs of Ad Military		
Direct Manpower Costs (DMC)	$16,040	$22,037
DMC + Family Housing (FH)	16,710	23,328
DMC + FH + Personnel Support (PS)	17,342	28,769

SOURCE: CHARLES MOSKOS, *A CALL TO CIVIC SERVICE*

low in the military rank and pay grade structure, since none would stay longer than two years.

However, some manpower experts disagree that leavening the career force with citizen soldiers would lower manpower costs. They argue that more people would have to be recruited each year to offset the quicker turnover of citizen soldiers, and that training costs would rise.

THE CIVILIAN SERVICE ALTERNATIVE

"NO ABLE ADULT SHOULD BE ALLOWED VOLUNTARILY TO TAKE FROM THE COMMON GOOD WITHOUT ALSO CONTRIBUTING TO IT."

NOVAK ET AL,

THE NEW CONSENSUS ON FAMILY AND WELFARE

Demographic, technological and economic changes are altering the face of our society, creating new social needs and pressures. Yet

existing policies and institutions increasingly seem inadequate to the task of coping with new social and economic exigencies.

For example, a decline in the youth population, combined with rapid growth in the proportion of elderly Americans (particularly those over 85) will put unprecedented strain on health, retirement and other social services. The lack of quality child care has become an urgent national problem as more and more mothers (many of them single) work to support their families. And illiteracy and poor basic skills hold back too many disadvantaged youths, posing a serious obstacle to our collective ability to compete in markets at home and abroad.

Health, education, welfare—in these and other areas the demand for social services far exceeds the supply. Neither the public nor private sector has the means or will to undertake innumerable tasks that have low profit potential but high civic value. Yet the performance of such civic tasks would undoubtedly make life for many Americans healthier and safer, less onerous and more enriching—in short, more civilized.

The DLC believes that a broad-scale program of civilian service could address the manifold social needs that now fall between the cracks of public and private provision. Such a program would match national needs to tremendous yet untapped national resources: the energy of young Americans and the experience of our retired citizens.

What is the potential for putting volunteers to work under the aegis of national service? According to Danzig and Szanton, nearly 3.5 million positions could usefully be filled by civilian volunteers. A National War College study, by adding emergency management (disaster relief), raised that total to about four million.

Most of the labor-intensive tasks (about 2.7 million) fall under the categories of education, health, and child care. Over a million enlistees, for example, could be employed as teachers' aides, tutors or in general support positions in public schools. As for health care, volunteers could serve as aides in hospitals, hospices, nursing homes, mental institutions, clinics, in-home programs and drug and alcohol abuse programs. Many would also find jobs in conservation: forestry, fish and wildlife management, anti-erosion projects and maintenance of parks and recreation areas.

TOTAL POTENTIAL NATIONAL SERVICE ASSIGNMENTS

Field	Number of Participants
Education	1,200,000
Health	750,000
Child Care	820,000
Environment	165,000
Miscellaneous Services-Justice	250,000
Libraries & Museums	200,000
Emergency Management	600,000
All Other	100,000
Total	4,085,000

SOURCE: NATIONAL WAR COLLEGE

Other potential jobs with high civic content might include work in criminal justice (in civilian patrols and staff support for the police, victims assistance, parole and probation and corrections); in civil defense; in libraries and museums; and in projects that help the poor like weatherization or rehabilitation of housing and public facilities.

By way of illustration, Roger Landrum and Frank Slobig, directors of Youth Service America, point out that youths are already engaged in such public service tasks as "delivering groceries to home-bound elderly citizens; cleaning up damaged communities after tornadoes and floods; working with terminally ill hospital patients; tutoring at-risk youngsters in math and reading; halting soil and shoreline erosion; building playgrounds; removing graffiti from public buses; working in day care centers; clearing nature trails; installing smoke detectors in homes for senior citizens; refurbishing dilapidated buildings; working in homeless shelters; staffing rape hotlines; taking elderly persons to church; tutoring Asian and Central American refugees."

There are also promising precedents for public service programs involving the elderly. Danzig and Szanton cite studies that show that older people who engage in community service report that they are healthier and happier. The authors add:

"Moreover, existing programs involving the elderly suggest that many persons over sixty can be induced to volunteer significant amounts of time with only modest incentives. ACTION's $2-per-hour Foster Grandparents Program, involving approximately 18,000 elderly workers in 1981, was dwarfed that year by the agency's Retired Senior Volunteer Program. RSVP enlisted almost 320,000 volunteers that year, contributing, by ACTION's estimate, more than 56 million hours of service. For the average 175 hours secured from each volunteer, ACTION paid nothing, covering only the volunteers' transportation costs and accident and liability insurance. ACTION calculates that 60 percent of these workers were over seventy, and 15 percent were over eighty. Clearly, the desire to volunteer runs well into old age, and volunteering is pursued for reasons beyond financial rewards."

It would make sense for elderly volunteers both to tutor and supervise the young as well as to specialize in care for aged and infirm Americans. Today one in every nine citizens is over 65; by 2010, the ratio will rise to one in seven. Moreover, the number of citizens over 85 is expected to swell from 1.5 million in 1980 to over four million by 2010. Many of these "old old" citizens will need such geriatric services as meals on wheels, in-home or nursing home care, transportation, as well as simple companionship.

As America grows older, national service could thus become a means of relieving the financial and emotional burdens on families struggling to raise children and help support their own parents.

Another conspicuous national need is for high-quality yet affordable child care. By the year 1990, there will be 10 million children under six with working mothers, yet the United States lags behind other advanced countries in ensuring reliable care for poor and non-poor families alike. An influx of Citizens Corps enlistees would immediately help by reducing child-to-staff ratios in overburdened child care operations in homes, centers and workplaces. Such a policy would also reinforce

the growing trend toward moving young mothers off welfare rolls and into education, job training or work programs to hasten their exit from poverty.

National service need not require a huge and highly centralized bureaucracy to create positions and place enlistees in them. It should build instead on the foundation of existing community service programs, civic and professional associations, churches and roughly 100,000 private, non-profit organizations around the country. They would sponsor servers and assume some of the costs of recruiting, screening and supervising them and paying them a subsistence wage.

The Peace Corps and VISTA

The Citizens Corps would also include and expand two service programs that have already proved their worth: the Peace Corps and its domestic counterpart, Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA).

The Peace Corps gives the national service ethic an international dimension. Since its inception in 1961, the Peace Corps has sent over 120,000 volunteers overseas for two years to foster social and economic progress in developing countries. Widely considered the most cost-effective U.S. foreign aid program, the Peace Corps wins 95 percent approval in national polls.

Since the mid-1960s, however, its funding has nearly been cut in half, while its volunteer force has dwindled from 15,000 to about

PHOTO: THE PEACE CORPS

International Service: Continuing a 27-year tradition of service in human development overseas, a Peace Corps volunteer tutors children in Costa Rica. Under the Citizens Corps, the Peace Corps would be restored to its 1967 peak of 15,000 volunteers.

5,300 today. Yet recent action by Congress to increase funding and authorize the Peace Corps to grow to 10,000 volunteers will reverse this downward trend.

We welcome this sign of a renewed commitment to the program. Through the Peace Corps we have fostered growth and hope in developing nations, enriched the lives of those who have served, earned enormous good will for America abroad and transmitted our democratic values without recourse to military force. As national service is instituted at home, an expanded Peace Corps should continue as the international wing of the program.

A domestic version of the Peace Corps, VISTA enlists men and women of all ages into projects designed to help the poor achieve self-sufficiency. For minimal pay, VISTA volunteers live and work among the poor, in urban and rural areas and on Indian reservations.

In recent years, VISTA has shrunk to only a few thousand volunteers. Considering the magnitude of the social problems our country continues to face — especially the large population of needy Americans trapped in a self-perpetuating cycle of poverty and dependence — we believe VISTA too should be revitalized and expanded as part of a larger national service plan.

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CHAPTER THREE

A BLUEPRINT FOR CIVIC ENTERPRISE

"EVERYBODY CAN BE GREAT BECAUSE EVERYBODY CAN SERVE."
— MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Young men and women over 18 would be eligible for duty in the Citizens Corps upon graduating from high school or otherwise earning a diploma. Enlistees would choose between the two military service options and the wide variety of civilian alternatives listed below.

Civilian volunteers would earn a $10,000 voucher and military servers a $12,000 voucher for each full year of service. The differential stems from the longer commitment of time required by the military (unlike the civilian branch of the Citizens Corps, there is no one-year enlistment option) and the higher risks involved. Vouchers could only be used to pay for college, for vocational school or job training, or for buying a home.

In addition to vouchers, civilian servers would receive a modest monthly stipend of $100 a week (and, in residential programs, room and board). Citizen soldiers on active duty would receive approximately the same amount, which means they would make about half as much as a career soldier. Health insurance would also be provided to all national service enlistees.

The Senior Citizens Corps would be open to people 65 and over. Retirees could work part-time as well as full-time and would receive an hourly wage rather than a voucher. Initially, the size of the Senior Corps would be limited to maintain the primary focus on youth service.

More detailed descriptions of the Citizens Corps' three major branches follow.

Military Service

The Citizens Corps would create a new enlistment option—the citizen soldier paid at less than market wages. In effect, the citizen soldier would become the contemporary equivalent of the draftee—someone who joins the military to fulfill a civic duty, not to make a career.

By making military service more attractive to college-bound youths who now seldom consider it, the citizen soldier track would help the AVF broaden its current training base, meet long-term manpower needs and recruit from a wider cross-section of society. It would represent a logical progression from recent changes in military manpower policy—especially the short enlistment option and new G.I.-style benefits—that already are proving successful in attracting more middle-class youths to the All-Volunteer Force.

Moreover, we believe a further influx of citizen soldiers would infuse our professional army with more civic content, preventing it from becoming dangerously isolated from the society it protects—especially from social and economic elites who now feel little responsibility to serve in the military.

In this two-tiered military, citizen soldiers would go directly into the Selected Reserves for six years or serve a two-year stint in the active forces and two years in the Selected Reserves. (The former would go on the inactive reserve roles—the Individual Ready Reserve—for two years; the latter for four years. Thus, both would be available for military duty for a total of eight years.)

Those who go directly into the Reserves would earn one voucher, which they would receive after completing their first year (which would include three months of basic military training). Those who choose two years of active duty would earn two vouchers totalling $24,000. In contrast, military personnel must now contribute $1,200 of their own salary to qualify for G.I. benefits totalling $9,000 after two years and $10,800 after three years. (With kickers, however, certain specialists whose skills are in high demand can now earn as much as $25,000 after three years of service.)

To further distinguish between the two forms of the military service, we would limit the current two-year enlistment option to citizen soldiers. Professional soldiers would sign up for longer (currently three- and four-year) hitches and enter a career track. They would undergo training in more technical military specialities, while citizen soldiers would be assigned to combat units and labor-intensive duties.

Career soldiers would continue to be eligible for benefits under the current G.I. Bill. Moreover, Moskos suggests expanding opportunities for professional soldiers, especially non-commissioned officers, to take sabbaticals in order to study engineering or other fields important to their work in the military. "The career force must also be given improved housing and family medical care as well as adequate reimbursement for reassignments that involve family moves," he writes.

In short, a two-tiered military would retain the advantages of a professional army while mitigating some of its shortcomings: a relatively small training and mobilization base, high personnel costs, isolation from the population at large and loss of a sense of shared responsibility and democratic accountability in our nation's defense.

Civilian Service

Enlistees who choose civilian service would be offered a wide spectrum of work possibilities, ranging from conservation to education assistance to helping patrol America's borders. The chief test for civilian service jobs is that they must fulfill real public needs.

The Citizens Corps' civilian branch would offer five alternative categories of service, or groups:

- ★ **Education Group:** Intended to spread literacy and numeracy (arithmetic competence) and strengthen our public school system, this group would place volunteers in schools, homes, libraries and adult education centers.

- ★ **Human Services:** Enlistees would serve as aides in hospitals, hospices, clinics or homes for the elderly, make visits to them in their own homes, and help staff day care centers in their communities. This group would also aid the homeless and the hungry and perform other social services.

- ★ **Conservation Group:** Including a growing number of conservation corps set up by states and localities, this group would involve young people in urban and rural conservation. In cities, for example, enlistees might rehabilitate rundown housing and help keep public places clean. In rural areas, they might engage in wildlife management and anti-erosion work.

- ★ **Peace Corps/VISTA Group:** We would keep and expand each of these valuable programs to about 15,000 volunteers.

- ★ **Public Safety Group:** Volunteers in this group would perform unspecialized tasks in support of our overtaxed criminal justice system: police, prisons, the courts, and border patrol.

The Senior Citizens Corps

We are convinced that our society will reap large dividends if retired Americans are offered ways to share a lifetime of learning and work experience with people who need special attention or care.

Retired citizens obviously would bring different needs and expectations than young enlistees to national service, and our Senior Citizens Corps would be structured accordingly. Enlistees would be able to work part-time as well as full-time and would earn a wage of between $4 and $5 an hour intended to supplement, not replace, their retirement income.

While retirees could perform many of the same tasks as young servers, they could also be entrusted with greater responsibility and more demanding jobs. For example, they might work in remedial education programs or supervise younger volunteers in clinics or day care centers. They could train young people for work by teaching business and technical skills acquired over decades of experience. And they are particularly well suited to provide care and empathy to elderly Americans who are ill, infirm, undernourished or simply in need of companionship.

Moreover, we believe that retired volunteers could help keep down the overhead costs of national service by taking administrative and supervisory positions within the Citizens Corps itself.

Thanks to rapid advances in medicine and geriatric care, many older citizens can look forward to more robust health and greater longevity. And, as America's many reluctant retirees will ruefully acknowledge, the capacity to make productive contributions to society does not end abruptly at age 65. For those who are vigorous and enjoy their work, mandatory retirement may indeed seem arbitrary and unfair. Others may prefer a slower pace, but still wish to play an active part in community life. Still others who are financially secure may want only the serene vistas of the golf course, the desert or the seashore.

In any case, we can safely predict that in the decades to come, retired Americans will be more energetic, accomplished, well-educated and numerous than ever before. They represent a vital national resource that we cannot afford to waste.

National Service and Needy Youths

So far, we have considered national service as a means of accomplishing three principal goals:

- ★ Fostering greater civic consciousness in America;
- ★ Marshalling our nation's human resources to meet national needs; and,
- ★ Opening paths to opportunity for aspiring young people who serve their country.

PHOTO: MONTGOMERY COUNTY CONSERVATION CORPS

Community service volunteers in rural Maryland learn carpentry skills in building projects ranging from homeless shelters to local park facilities.

Now we turn to ways in which the actual experience of public service—rather than its rewards—can help prepare young people for life.

More states and communities around the country are experimenting with programs tailored specifically to the needs of poor and disadvantaged youths. Since 1981, the number of conservation corps-style programs has mushroomed, from two to over 40. Of these, many are targeted largely at youngsters from low-income or indigent families.

For disadvantaged youths, such programs often provide a badly needed model of social order and cooperation, a disciplined alternative to a social environment too often pervaded by disorder, crime and despair. They provide jobs, education and skills training, and a chance to build a sense of self-confidence and accomplishment. They give participants

an opportunity to be depended upon rather than dependent, to acquire habits of self-reliance and to meet and mix with youths of different economic and social backgrounds.

An example of a successful youth program is the East Bay Conservation Corps in Oakland, California. According to its education coordinator, Jim Sternberg:

"Where we're successful, we may have improved their employability, their education, their self-esteem, their understanding of the community and what it means to participate in it, or just the general quality of their lives and their relationships. In terms of those criteria, I'd say we're successful three-quarters of the time. Given the odds against the corps members who come to us, I'd say that's a very high rate of success."

While national service is not a jobs program, we support community service efforts that also teach underprivileged youngsters the requirements of work and responsible citizenship. In addition, youth corps offer some poor youngsters who for various reasons are not eligible for military service an alternative means of upward mobility. Therefore, the Citizens Corps would include and expand conservation corps programs as options for civilian service, with the proviso that participants must have a high school degree or its equivalent to be eligible for post-service benefits.

Many youth corps pay participants the minimum wage. To avoid disruption, we would leave to them decisions about how best to reward servers. For example, youths who complete a year of full-time service in a program might be given a smaller voucher worth the difference between $10,000 and a year's pay at the minimum wage. The point is to allow youth corps sufficient flexibility to serve the needs of their participants as well as their communities.

Administering the Citizens Corps

"The grassroots approach to building up a base for a national service scheme avoids the establishment of a large, stagnant federal bureaucracy, and it is much less expensive to fund the endeavor in a decentralized manner"

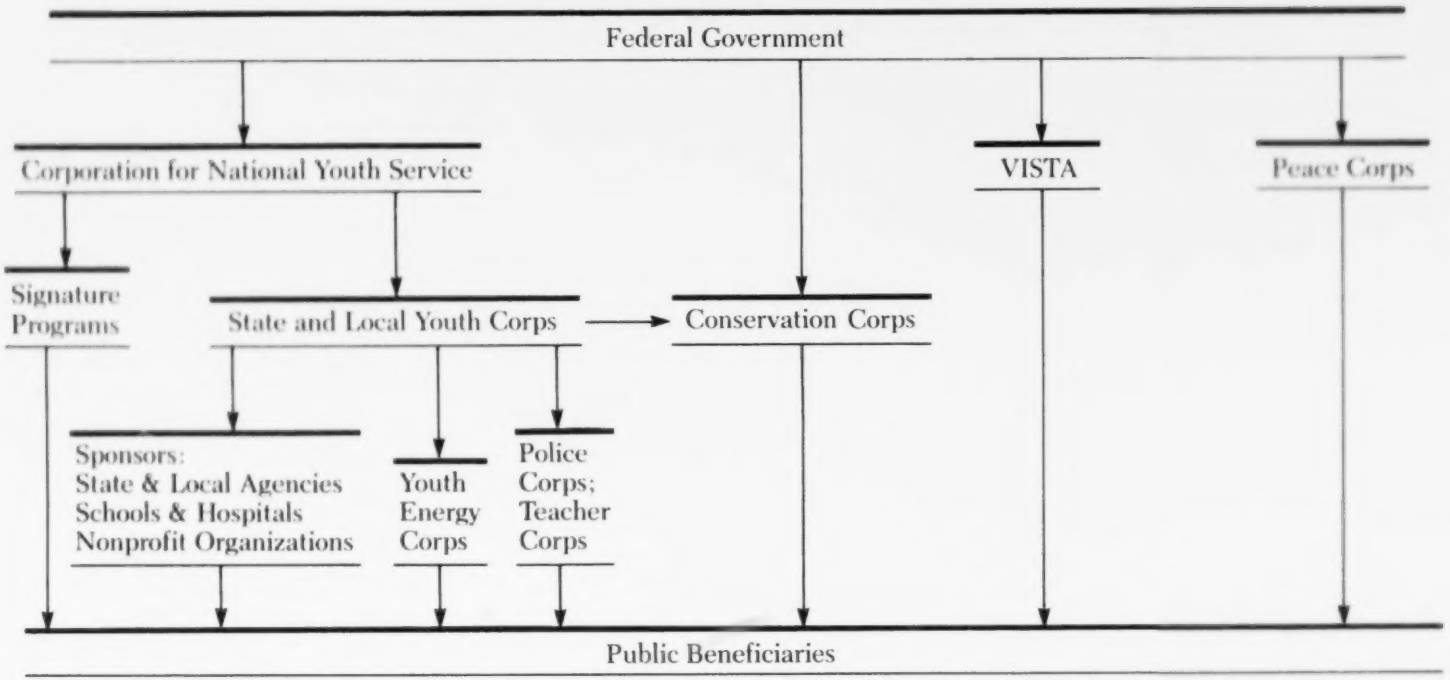
Brown University President Howard Swearer

The Citizens Corps would build national service from the bottom up, stimulating the growth of existing programs and encouraging social service agencies, schools, hospitals and non-profit organizations to create openings for national service volunteers. Organized on the principle of maximum decentralization and minimal overhead bureaucracy, it would be administered mainly at the state and local level.

Overseeing this nationwide service network would be a public Corporation for National Service patterned on the Corporation for Pub-

Model of Administrative Organization for National Service

As Proposed By Charles Moskos



SOURCE: CHARLES MOSKOS, *A CALL TO CIVIC SERVICE*.

lic Broadcasting. Congress would appropriate funds for the corporation, which would award grants to state and local service programs. While the corporation would set broad guidelines regarding pay, the kinds of services to be performed, the prevention of job displacement and other basic policy questions, state and local community service boards would have wide discretion to identify pressing social needs, screen volunteers and assign them to sponsors.

Operating no programs itself, the corporation would coordinate the few (like the Peace Corps and VISTA) administered by federal agencies. It would also investigate abuses and act as a clearinghouse for information about public service initiatives. Appointed by the president and Congress, its governing board would include representatives of business, unions, education, state and local service agencies and the private nonprofit sector.

Administrative cost-sharing is critical to giving all participants a stake in the Citizens Corps' success. We recommend a 75-25 split between federal and state and local contributions. Local costs can be at least partly recouped by assessing sponsors a small fee for each volunteer they employ—a requirement that will also discourage the creation of unnecessary "make work" jobs.

In short, broad-based national service cannot simply be legislated into existence: it must be woven gradually into the pattern of our daily lives. Before the idea becomes widely accepted, people need to see how national service would work in practice, in their communities. Local experiments in public service should be launched, refined, perfected and expanded if they succeed or terminated if they fail. Like so many tributaries, they should feed into a broad current of national service experience.

In this way, the initial costs of national service can be kept manageable. However, we do not minimize the magnitude of either the costs or the social changes that a full-blown network of national service implies.

What Would National Service Cost?

With few precedents to go by, it is difficult to estimate the cost of national service. Our figures are based on what existing public service programs cost as well as calculations and assumptions developed by Moskos, Danzig and Szanton, and others. Admittedly inexact, they nonetheless indicate the magnitude of likely costs.

Basically, the Citizens Corps would entail two kinds of costs: administrative (including overhead and pay) and post-service (vouchers). The former would be borne by federal, state and local governments as well as private agencies that sponsor and employ volunteers. The latter would be borne by the federal government alone.

In weighing costs, the key variable is how many people participate. For the purposes of this exercise, we shall assume a Citizens Corps

of 800,000 volunteers—100,000 citizen soldiers, 100,000 full-time slots for retirees and 600,000 young civilian servers.

Calculating post-service costs is straightforward. Assuming no attrition, the cost of awarding civilian service vouchers worth $10,000 each to 600,000 youths is $6 billion a year. Providing a $12,000 military service voucher to 100,000 citizens soldiers would add $1.2 billion, for a total annual cost of $7.2 billion.

In comparison, existing federal student aid programs cost Washington nearly $8.3 billion each year. We would eliminate the grant programs altogether. And because our proposal would limit the guaranteed loan and work study programs to national service veterans (who would also have to meet an improved needs test) we can expect participation rates to drop significantly. Thus, at the level of participation contemplated here, the cost of providing post-service vouchers would be largely and perhaps entirely offset by savings from the existing federal student aid programs.

Let us now turn to the more complicated question of administrative, overhead and salary costs, which will be shared by various levels of government and private organizations that use national service volunteers.

Since citizen soldiers would change only the composition of the All-Volunteer Force, not its overall size, they would not add new salary or administrative costs to the military budget. On the contrary, the Defense Department may well realize savings in reduced salaries and benefits. Citizen soldiers would be paid half what career soldiers receive; they would not get enlistment and re-enlistment bonuses; they would require fewer family-related expenses, such as off-base housing; and, they would not receive military pensions. Further savings would also result from lower attrition rates and a reduction in the number of soldiers in higher pay grades.

Conversely, shorter enlistments and an influx of enlistees directly into the reserves would lead to higher per capita training costs. Nonetheless, we believe that the savings associated with citizen soldiers are likely to exceed the costs. Moreover, by broadening the military's training base, the U.S. would be able to mobilize more manpower should the need arise. That capability, in turn, would buttress our conventional strength and policy of deterrence.

Retirees who volunteer for national service would be paid an hourly wage and would not receive a post-service benefit or health insurance. At say, $5 an hour, a member of the Senior Citizens Corps who works full-time for one year could earn as much as $10,400. With the exception of staff positions with the Citizens Corps itself, however, we recommend that part-time work be emphasized in order to make room for more retired enlistees. Figuring 100,000 full-time slots, the annual cost would be $1.4 billion.

It is difficult to generalize about pay and overhead costs arising from civilian service since the remaining 600,000 youths will be engaged in a variety of programs and tasks. Conservation corps, for example, often include education and training for volunteers and require more intensive supervision. On the other hand, volunteers could be absorbed

into the public school system more cheaply since there is already a supervisory structure in place.

For new civilian service positions, we propose a weekly stipend of $100. Adding health and life insurance to such a stipend, Moskos figures that the basic yearly compensation for a civilian volunteer would be about $6,500. Including the cost of supervisory staff, he arrives at a benchmark estimate of $9,000 per national service slot per year. That, he notes, is close to the total average cost per VISTA volunteer. For residential programs, in which volunteers are also provided room and board, Moskos estimates costs at $16,000 per slot.

Under these assumptions, 100,000 new conservation positions, split 75-25 between non-residential and residential slots, would cost almost $1 billion a year.

Using the California Conservation Corps as a model, Danzig and Szanton estimate that each additional conservation position created would cost $20,000 in residential programs and $14,000 in non-residential programs. Those estimates, however, are predicated on the minimum wage (which amounts to over $7,000 yearly) rather than the smaller weekly stipend the Citizens Corps will pay.

The Citizens Corps would give existing conservation programs the option of continuing to pay volunteers at the minimum wage. Corps members' vouchers would be reduced correspondingly so that all civilian volunteers receive the same overall benefit from national service.

According to Danzig and Szanton, expanding the Peace Corps to 15,000 volunteers (from roughly 5,500) would cost approximately $200 million a year. Because VISTA volunteers require less training and support services and no long-distance travel, expanding that program to 15,000 (from over 2,000) would cost less, about $110 million. Expansion of these programs would thus account for about 23,000 new national service positions for a total cost of $310 million (all figures exclude the cost of post-service benefits).

Using Moskos' benchmark of $9,000 per volunteer, compensation and supervisory costs for the remaining 477,000 civilian service positions would come to approximately $4.3 billion annually. Finally, Moskos estimates the annual cost of federal administration, through a new Corporation for National Service, at $30 million and he budgets an additional $30 for advertising.

So looking at administrative, overhead, supervisory and compensation costs, and assuming that citizen soldiers will add no new expense, a Citizens Corps with 700,000 civilian volunteers would incur the following estimated costs:

Senior Citizens Corps (100,000 positions)	*$1.400 billion*
Conservation Corps (100,000 volunteers)	*$1.000*
Peace Corps (10,000 new volunteers)	*$ 200*
VISTA (13,000 new volunteers)	*$ 110*
New Slots (477,000 volunteers)	*$4.300*
Federal Administration	*$ 30*
Advertising	*$ 30*
Total:	*$7.070 billion*

Assuming that a quarter of this total ($1.8 billion) will be shared by state and local agencies and private sponsors, the total federal cost would come to $5.3 billion. Since the cost of post-service vouchers would be offset by changes in existing federal student aid programs, that figure represents the net cost to Washington of a full-blown Citizens Corps of 800,000 volunteers.

In truth, however, any effort to forecast the costs of national service is problematic. Different service programs will require different kinds of supervision, overhead and training. Some will be federally administered; many more will be run by state and local agencies. No one can predict how many volunteers will be sponsored by private charitable and social service organizations. There will be attrition. And matching youths to the tasks best suited to their individual needs and abilities will require judicious screening.

Nonetheless, certain conclusions about costs can be drawn. Moskos observes in his book, "Although prediction of exact dollar figures in such a large and untried program is a risky enterprise, the general principles of cost accounting of national service are clear. Costs are higher to the degree that programs are more residential, managed by public agencies, directed toward at-risk youth, and staff intensive. Correspondingly, costs are lower to the degree that national service is non-residential, managed by non-profit organizations, and untargeted with a low staff ratio."

A final consideration concerns "opportunity costs," or the costs of investing time and resources in national service rather than something else. As Danzig and Szanton note:

"The question of whether some form of national service should be adopted cannot be answered by examining national service alone. A comparative judgment is involved. The value of national service, for its participants and for the country, would depend significantly on its opportunity costs—that is, on the nature and value of the activities in which its participants otherwise would have been engaged."

Weighing Costs and Benefits

The likely costs of large-scale national service are high and can only be justified by the expectation that the returns will be greater. Many will be readily apparent: a more comprehensive system of child care, better supervision in schools, fewer illiterate citizens, safer streets, better housing, cleaner parks. In effect, the Citizens Corps will multiply the number of volunteers available to help our hospitals, courts, charities, clinics, libraries and other civic institutions better serve the public interest.

Far more difficult to measure is the intangible value that national service would create. Who can put a price tag on a mother's relief that her children are safe and in reliable hands while she is at work? How do we appraise in monetary terms the skills and insights that older volunteers can pass on to their grandchildren's generation? Tending for

PHOTO: THE WASHINGTON HOSPITAL CENTER

According to Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton, authors of *National Service: What Would It Mean?*, as many as 750,000 national service volunteers could be put to work as health care aides in hospitals, clinics, outpatient facilities, home care programs and other health settings.

the sick, the disabled and the aged; helping disadvantaged youths overcome obstacles to opportunity; making our public institutions more efficient and responsive; assuring decent shelter for homeless citizens; fostering development and earning good will for America abroad—no static cost-benefit analysis can capture the manifold public good that would flow from a broad national commitment to public service.

In a 1985 study of the California Conservation Corps, Public/Private Ventures noted that public goods and services are difficult to value for two reasons: "First, they are not transacted directly on the market, so there is no market price that can be used as a proxy for value. Second, even when a market price can be established—such as the price another supplier would charge to do the same work, or the cost of a similar private good—this price may capture only part of the product's value to society."

Nonetheless, after using five methods to assess the value of the CCC's work, Public/Private Ventures concluded that the program "does millions of dollars of work each year" and that all but one method showed that the value of that work exceeds the program's costs. In another study of the California program, the Human Environment Center estimates that it yields benefits of $1.60 per $1 spent. Likewise, the Pennsylvania Conservation Corps reports that the program returns $1.36 for every public dollar invested. According to a study (Mallar, 1980) of the Job Corps, which provides intensive training to about 40,000 disadvantaged youths a year at an average cost of $14,000 per participant, the program returns $1.40 for every dollar invested.

Moreover, programs like these that are geared to the special needs of participants typically require intensive supervision and instruction, and therefore are more expensive than other community service efforts.

In assessing the true value of national service, the question of cost avoidance is crucial. Many of the tasks we envision for volunteers are targeted on conditions like poor education and the lack of adequate child care, which, if not tackled now, will engender much larger societal problems later. By mobilizing Americans to attack corrosive social ills at their roots, national service can save us billions of dollars in remediation costs down the road.

For example, there is a high correlation between illiteracy and low income, unemployment, public assistance and crime. Surely an intensified national effort to wipe out illiteracy is a sound investment if it will rescue disadvantaged youths from meager opportunities, dependence and illicit behavior—and thereby spare society higher costs for unemployment assistance, welfare, police and prisons.

With at least 17 million adults believed to be functionally illiterate, the United States will have trouble competing in a world economy that puts a premium on human brainpower and adaptability. Already, the costs of neglect are enormous: according to the National Education Association, U.S. businesses spent more than $4 billion in 1985 to train poorly educated youths in the basic skills necessary to handle entry-level jobs.

In addition to improving our immediate ability to deliver human services to citizens in need, and thus prevent larger social problems down

the road, national service represents a long-term investment in America's human capital.

For many young people, the road to college and wider horizons will lead through the Citizens Corps. For them and for society, college scholarship aid is money well spent: the average college graduate can expect lifetime earnings about $640,000 greater than someone who didn't go to college, and $460,000 more than someone who started college but did not finish.

National service can also help those who are not college-bound to prepare themselves for the demands of a fast-changing global marketplace. These citizens also deserve a chance to acquire vocational education and job training, to hone their productive skills and their ability to add value to the goods and services that America produces.

Finally, the Citizens Corps will help young people realize the quintessential American dream of owning a home. By itself, national service cannot solve the nation's housing crisis—ultimately that will require expanding housing stock. It can be part of the solution, however, by helping families on the margin to collect enough money for down payments. Central to the DLC's vision of democratic capitalism is the conviction that strong communities are anchored in home ownership.

Like the G.I. Bill, the Citizens Corps would be a prudent investment in a more productive and democratic society—a society that takes care of its own and offers everyone a chance to partake in our nation's prosperity. Moreover, in the current period of fiscal stringency, national service may well be the only politically feasible way to make new public investments in our collective future.

Paying for National Service

National service is not cheap. Yet as Democrats, we believe public investments that develop America's human capital are essential to our nation's long-term prosperity and strength. But we also know that the need for new investments must be reconciled with another national imperative: getting the federal deficit under control.

The DLC believes deficit reduction efforts should follow three guidelines:

1) Cut government spending first.

2) Raise taxes only after a genuine effort has been made to restrain non-essential spending.

3) As the deficit declines, reorder budget priorities toward investments in people—in their education, well-being and productivity.

In keeping with these guidelines, we favor financing the Citizens Corps by trimming existing spending (including tax subsidies or expenditures) rather than raising taxes or adding to the deficit. Old spending should be pruned to make room for new investments. However, if new taxes are necessary, they should be progressive and designed to discourage consumption.

In a trillion-dollar federal budget, there are many ways to achieve $5 billion in annual savings. Future spending on all programs should be considered as candidates for restraint, except those for the poor. By way of illustration, here are some sample options for spending and tax subsidy cuts prepared by the Congressional Budget Office (dollar figures indicate cumulative five-year outlay savings):

- ★ Further limit the tax subsidy for business meals and entertainment, lowering the amount of deductible expenses from 80 to 50 percent ($18.4 billion).
- ★ Adopt a fee schedule for reimbursing doctors under medicare, with the spending cap set by growth in GNP ($23 billion).
- ★ Close selected military bases and consolidate some depot and warehouse operations ($1.2 billion).

Taken together, these actions would make room in the federal budget for national service and accelerate the pace of deficit reduction. However, there is nothing sacred about this particular list and the same result could be achieved in countless other ways. The point is simply that, given the political will, we are confident that resources can be freed to finance the Citizens Corps.

Some Considerations

While national service is highly appealing in the abstract, attempts to design a concrete plan quickly encounter a host of serious obstacles and objections. Some skeptics fear that a national service program would be too costly and engender a massive and intrusive bureaucracy. Others think national service would be unfair, inevitably imposing a heavier burden on the poor than the rich. Unions worry that participants in public service programs could displace full-time workers or undercut wages. And citizens of a libertarian bent object on philosophical grounds, arguing that national service implies a degree of coercion and collectivism that is at odds with traditional American liberties and individualism.

There is some validity to all these concerns, and proponents of national service must forthrightly address them. The deeper question, though, is whether Americans can rise to the challenges of a new social and economic era without a renewed awareness of the obligations we owe to each other and to society. How long can we tolerate mediocre public schools and still hope to excel in economic competition? How

long can we ignore illiteracy and related social pathologies and still hope to build a workforce of world-class skills and versatility? How long can we exempt our most privileged sons and daughters from public service, and still afford to pay others to defend us and meet essential social needs?

Certainly national service will cost money, but we believe it will just as surely produce immeasurable social gains, both in terms of meeting public needs and developing a well-educated, well-trained and well-housed citizenry. Likewise, some central organization will be needed to oversee and set broad policy on national service, but the Citizens Corps would be administered mainly at the grass roots, with local agencies and private, non-profit organizations in charge of screening, placing and supervising volunteers.

Two other frequently raised concerns about national service also bear mention:

★ Job Displacement

As Democrats, we share organized labor's concerns about job displacement. But considering the number and nature of jobs that need to be done, we believe that it should be possible to fashion a comprehensive plan of voluntary service without threatening the livelihood of American workers in public or private employment.

Under the Citizens Corps, civilian service will focus on those social needs for which neither private business nor the non-profit and public sectors has yet to supply adequate remedies. The former will not be permitted to employ volunteers; the latter will be able to use enlistees as supplements to—not substitutes for—their regular work force. The Citizens Corps will not offer employers a chance to cut labor costs by dipping into a new pool of low-paid volunteers.

To allay fears of job displacement, there needs to be close and continuous consultation with public and private labor organizations as national service goes into effect. Labor's representatives should sit on the national corporation that oversees the Citizens Corps, as well as on local authorities that assign volunteers, young and old, to civilian tasks.

The Minnesota Youth Service offers a model of cooperation between labor and public service programs. Labor was involved at the outset, having representatives on the task force that developed the proposal and on the advisory board that will help oversee operations. The law establishing the Minnesota program requires that the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME) be consulted on project selection at the state and local level.

★ Equality of Sacrifice

Simple fairness and prudence alike require that the burdens of citizenship in a democracy be shared and shared equally. Like most people, Americans are much more inclined to make sacrifices for their country if they know that others are making them too.

In a free society anchored in the concept of individual rights, there are limits on how far government can go to ensure perfect equality of sacrifice. Only if it were mandatory and universal could national service impose a roughly equal burden on all citizens. We doubt, how-

ever, that the American people would accept such a coercive and intrusive—not to mention costly—program.

In our view, voluntary national service strikes a more acceptable compromise between individual freedom and discretion and the civic ideal of shared sacrifice. We believe that through the combined use of financial incentives and moral suasion, a voluntary program such as the Citizens Corps would draw a broad and increasingly representative slice of our nation's youth to the enterprise of public service.

We would apply a single standard for all who seek federal student aid: serving at least one year in the Citizens Corps. With the exception of severely handicapped or otherwise incapacitated people, all young Americans—rich, poor and inbetween—would receive such aid only if they performed national service.

A voluntary program cannot be perfectly fair. Doubtless there will be youths from wealthy families who skip national service and thereby get a head start on their less privileged peers. However, it should be possible to mitigate this advantage by building into certain public policies a presumption in favor of national service volunteers. For example, publicly supported universities and vocational/technical institutions should include national service among the criteria used to evaluate applicants. Like veterans, national service volunteers could also receive preferential consideration in applying for public jobs or seeking government contracts.

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CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION

THE MORAL EQUIVALENT OF WAR

The debate on national service is not new. In his famous 1910 essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War," William James proposed that young Americans be conscripted into "an army enlisted against Nature":

"To coal and iron mines, to freight trains, to fishing fleets in December, to dish-washing, clothes-washing, and window-washing, to road-building and tunnel-making, to foundries and stoke-holes, and to the frames of skyscrapers, would our gilded youths be drafted off, according to their choice, to get the childishness knocked out of them, and to come back into society with healthier sympathies and soberer ideas."

Searching for a way to separate the "martial virtues" from militarism, James argued that obligatory national service could act as a "moral equivalent of war" in fostering discipline, hardiness and self-sacrifice.

Nearly 80 years later, the idea of national service retains its hold on the popular imagination. Its enduring appeal reflects a yearning for the solidarity and unity of purpose that we normally experience only in times of crisis. National service appeals as well to our sense of justice and fair play by implying a more equitable sharing of the burdens of citizenship. Its current popularity also rests on the realization that

as America strives to maintain its position of global leadership, our prosperity and strength depend on how wisely and efficiently we use our greatest national resource—our people.

In proposing the Citizens Corps, the DLC seeks, in James' phrase, "to inflame the civic temper" in America. Rather than impose public service on all, however, we believe that voluntary enlistment in either military or civilian service, strongly encouraged by G.I. Bill-style benefits, best suits the American tradition of individual choice and freedom.

Nonetheless, a broad-scale program of national service would profoundly alter the character of our society. Like the public school system, it would break down social barriers by bringing Americans of different backgrounds into closer and more frequent contact with each other. It would encourage citizens to serve each other and rely less on the impersonal agency of government to solve their problems. It would build social solidarity and counteract forces in our pluralistic culture that engender anomie and alienation.

A move toward national service is a step away from the prevailing ethos of entitlement—the notion that any segment of society has a permanent right to favors and privileges bestowed by government. Excepting the poor and infirm, we believe public benefits should be earned, not given. In place of a politics based on group interest and ever-expanding entitlements, we would substitute a new social compact based on reciprocal obligation and civic duty.

Like the phenomenally successful G.I. Bill, the Citizens Corps would be a vehicle of upward mobility for millions of young Americans, opening to them such possibilities as a college education, vocational training and expertise or home ownership. It would offer retirees work, supplemental income and a chance to pass on to others knowledge and wisdom acquired over a lifetime. And it would dramatically expand our ability—without creating a vast new public bureaucracy—to deliver services in such crucial areas of human need as health, education, public safety, housing and conservation.

In short, national service would enhance the role of ordinary citizens in solving our nation's problems. It would buttress the local civic and community resources that act as intermediaries between the citizen and the nation. In this way will citizens be encouraged, in Tocqueville's phrase, to "practice the art of government in the small sphere within their reach."

A rite of passage, a ticket to advancement, a first job, a bulwark of our national strength, an emblem of citizenship, a nationwide social support network, a source of civic pride and improvement, a useful way to spend part of one's retirement, a route to self-discipline and maturity—national service can be all of these things. It should be woven gradually but inexorably into the fabric of our everyday lives.

Like any radical departure from the status quo, national service is bound to encounter inertia and opposition. Some will assail it as a costly boondoggle; others as a threat to our liberties. Some will object to the military service option, fearing that it portends a return to a large-scale draft. Others will say that the American people are too self-absorbed to put some vague vision of the common good ahead of their own private pursuits.

We think such critics misjudge the public temper. The American people understand that our nation's progress has been built on cooperation as well as self-reliance and they have never failed to make the sacrifices necessary to defend and preserve our democracy. They know that America is truly a union, not just a place where millions of atomized individuals act out their private destinies.

In 1960, John Kennedy defined his New Frontier not as a set of promises, but as a set of challenges to the American people. Today, a new generation of Democrats must again challenge Americans to look beyond their immediate self-interest to the broader concerns of our republic.

We are confident that the American people will respond to a new summons to civic duty and national purpose—if only our leaders have the courage to sound it.

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APPENDIX A

National Service Abroad

The U.S., Great Britain and Canada are unique among the world's democracies in not requiring some form of national service as a condition of citizenship. While circumstances vary from country to country, in general, males are required to perform military duty (or, in some cases, an alternative form of service) in most western nations and in many developing countries as well.

In **France**, for example, all men register at 18 for one year of compulsory national service which must be completed before age 22. They are given three service options: military, domestic civilian or overseas civilian service.

Denmark registers all males at birth and selects by lottery approximately 40 percent of the 19-year-olds to serve for nine months. In Spain, 19-year-old males register for 18 months of mandatory service when they turn 21. Exemptions are made for sole sons.

West Germany's national service experience is particularly instructive, as it includes an alternative civilian component. Young men who are drafted for a 15-month term in the armed services may instead choose to serve three years with the police or border patrol, two years with an overseas service program akin to the Peace Corps, or a part-time and unpaid commitment to civil defense and disaster relief over a 10-year period.

In 1983, Germany created another civilian service option, Zivildienst , for conscientious objectors. Those who declare as conscientious objectors must serve a term one-third longer than military service (now 20 months) in Zivildienst , though they are paid roughly the same as soliders.

Nearly 60,000 young men serve in the program which, according to Moskos, "has come to play an integral role in the delivery of human service in West Germany" despite an already extensive social welfare system. Objectors are typically assigned to tasks in hospitals and sanitoriums, nursing homes, the ambulance corps, day care, and to other positions in welfare and social work.

Thus Germany has gone farther than any other country toward establishing a large-scale peacetime civilian alternative to military service. While its national service system is mandatory, the civilian component can perhaps offer a model for similar voluntary service projects in the United States.

APPENDIX B

U.S. Student Aid Programs

Under the Citizens Corps, national service vouchers would replace college grants. Student loans and work study programs would be limited to those who both perform national service and meet an improved needs test. These changes would affect the following major student aid programs run by the U.S. Department of Education:

- ★ **Pell grants.** Nearly three million youths from low-income families receive Pell grants each year. The maximum annual grant is $2,100; the average is about $1,300. The program cost $3.8 billion in 1987.

- ★ **Supplemental education opportunity grants.** About 700,000 needy college students receive supplemental grants of up to $4,000 a year, with the average award being about $550. 1987 cost: $497 million.

- ★ **College work study.** The work study program provides part-time work for about 800,000 undergraduate and graduate students each year. 1987 cost: $656 million.

- ★ **Perkins loans (formerly national direct student loans).** This program provides direct, low-interest (5 percent) loans to needy students through a school's financial aid office. About 835,000 students received loans in 1986. 1987 cost: $268 million.

- ★ **Guaranteed student loans.** There are three types of GSLs: 1) low-interest (eight percent) loans to students; 2) supplemental loans to students at a maximum interest rate of 12 percent; and 3) loans to the parents of students, also at a maximum rate of 12 percent. In 1987 this program cost the federal government over $3 billion and generated about $9 billion in loans. Some 4.3 million people have guaranteed loans outstanding. The government expects defaults to total $1.6 billion in 1988; altogether, $6 billion is in default.

APPENDIX C

National Service Models and Proposals

"For persons whose concern is military manpower, youth unemployment or better social services, some form of national service represents a possible solution to a particular problem. But to the general public, national service seems attractive for its potential to accomplish so many ends at once."

Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton,
National Service: What Would it Mean?

In the abstract, national service has great intuitive appeal. Attempts to work out a detailed program, however, often founder on the variety of expectations that the idea of national service inspires. Still, many have doggedly pursued this difficult challenge and we would like to acknowledge our debt to the following individuals and groups who have labored diligently to advance the national service debate.

In one of the most thorough examinations of the subject, *National Service: What Would it Mean?*, authors Richard Danzig and Peter Szanton rehearse basic arguments for and against national service, postulate in great detail four model programs and conclude with 13 judgments they consider central to thinking about national service.

Among their chief conclusions are that there is plenty of useful work for national service participants to do; that national service is expensive and may not be the most cost-effective way to accomplish many tasks; that it is a poor solution to youth unemployment; that large-scale implementation would be difficult; and, that experimentation is needed. The authors are skeptical that national service can improve the quality or representativeness of the military. The Danzig and Szanton models are as follows:

Model 1: School-based service. This program offers federal support for states that choose to establish public service requirements in high school. In order to receive their diploma, high school students would have to perform 240 hours of unpaid civilian service, or three months of basic military training. Civilian service might include child and health

care assistance and environmental work.

The authors estimate that the costs of a nationwide program involving 3.2 million students would range between $690 million and $2.3 billion, depending on how volunteers were put to work. The federal government would foot 75 percent of the civilian service bill and 100 percent of the military service bill.

Model 2: Draft-based service. This model restores a two-year military draft and adds a two-year civilian service alternative. "Draft calls would expand to whatever levels were necessary to meet military requirements, given the proportion of conscripts choosing civilian service."

Each year, 320,000 19-year-old males would, upon being drafted by lottery, choose to enter either military or civilian service, with the expected split being 50-50. Civilian servers would choose between assignments approved as socially useful by a federal agency, most likely in health care, child care, and conservation. In order to assure sufficient military enrollment, the president could at any time remove the civilian alternative or adjust the ratios of military to civilian pay. Costs are estimated at $4.2 billion annually.

Model 3: Voluntary service. This program would establish a federal conservation corps and expand the Peace Corps, VISTA and state and local programs to provide 180,000 civilian service positions for interested youths. The organization heading the civilian program would also take over advertising and recruitment for the military. Danzig and Szanton estimate such a program would cost $2.6 billion a year, split roughly evenly between Washington and state and local agencies.

Model 4: Universal service. The most comprehensive of the models, this one would require all citizens over 18 to perform one year of civilian or military service or pay a five percent surcharge each year on their federal income tax. Citizens could delay their service as long as they like, or never perform it—but they would have to pay.

Danzig and Szanton believe that Model 4 would best meet the larger expectations of national service and fundamentally change the character of our society. However, they question whether it would be the most sensible or effective way to apply our financial or human resources to public needs. While acknowledging that their estimates are necessarily crude, they predict that a full-blown program of universal national service would cost $28 billion a year.

In 1980, the **Carter Administration's President's Reorganization Project** published a major study of national service. It analyzed four national service prototypes on the basis of five considerations: 1) constitutionality; 2) administrative feasibility; 3) cost; 4) impact on the armed forces; and 5) equity. The prototypes are as follows:

★ **Voluntary Broad-Based National Service.** This proposal creates new civilian service opportunities and expands existing programs like the Peace Corps and VISTA, but also includes the option of voluntary military service.

★ **Compulsory Broad-Based National Service.** This alternative would draft all youths for national service in either a military or civilian capacity. Deferments or exemptions would be available only for such reasons as economic hardship, institutionalization, and ill-health.

★ **Voluntary Targeted National Service.** This model aims at attracting a small, selected population into a service program of more modest scale. While most targeted programs focus on disadvantaged youths, no such limit is envisioned here.

★ **Compulsory Lottery-Based National Service.** This model limits the scope of compulsory national service by randomly selecting smaller numbers of participants. The President's Reorganization Project report called this option the most promising of the four proposals.

Roger Landrum and **Frank Slobig**, co-directors of Youth Service America, are leading advocates of the "bottom up" approach to national service. Their strategy is to encourage the proliferation of grassroots, decentralized community service programs that do not raise public fears of government "schemes and large bureaucracies."

Youth Service America maintains a community service information network and provides planning and technical help for state and local programs. It works with program operators and advocates at four levels: the full-time state and local service corps: high school-based programs; college- and university-based programs; and the Peace Corps and other federal nonmilitary programs.

In deliberate contrast to more sweeping, top-down national service plans, Landrum and Slobig seek to root youth service gradually in the nation's political culture. Their vision of national service begins in elementary school and continues through post-graduate education. Their ultimate goal is the spread of state, local and voluntary federal youth service programs to the point that participation in them becomes universal for American youth.

According to Youth Service America: "Whether mandatory or voluntary, what's important is that a period of sustained service should become an expected rite of passage into adulthood and a step towards responsible citizenship for all America's young people. And they are more likely to gravitate voluntarily towards an ethic of service if more community service programs are available to them during their high school, college or post-diploma years."

Donald Eberly, a leading national service advocate for the past 30 years, is founder of the **National Service Secretariat (NSS)**, a clearinghouse of information about national service. Its proposals in the late 1960s for voluntary youth service were among the first to envision national service as an alternative to the draft.

Eberly also plays a prominent role in the **Coalition for National Service**, which supports state and local service initiatives and attempts to build public support for a set of guiding principles for national service proposals. The Coalition has proposed that national service legislation be enacted in steps, starting with the most limited service plans and proceeding gradually to the broadest in scope. Above all, Eberly stresses spot testing of proposals before full-scale implementation.

Dr. Charles Moskos, a sociologist at Northwestern University, sees national service as the next step in an evolutionary progression from the draft to the volunteer army to a broader conception of civic duty.

In his forthcoming book, *A Call to Civic Service*, Moskos presents a voluntary military and civilian national service program on which the DLC proposal is substantially modeled.

At the heart of his proposal is an exchange: youths who volunteer for national service would, in return, receive public aid for their college education or vocational training. This civic contract would replace the current student loan program, which would be phased out.

Moskos projects a volunteer force of one million young men and women each year, of which about a fourth would join the military. His plan would reorganize the armed forces into a two-tiered system that distinguishes between the "professional soldier" who looks to the military as a lifetime occupation, and the "citizen soldier" who volunteers under the aegis of national service.

Career soldiers would be required to enlist for an initial period of four years and would be encouraged to continue with significant pay increases upon reenlistment and throughout the promotion ladder. Citizen soldiers would volunteer for two years of active duty and be paid two-thirds the salary of a similarly ranked career soldier. A post-enlistment reserve obligation of three to four years would follow.

The 600,000 youths who choose civilian service could work in day care centers, correctional institutions, conservation projects and nursing homes. Moskos recommends creation of a National Corporation for Youth Service, modeled on the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, to funnel federal dollars to state and local service agencies. He estimates the total annual costs for civilian servers (excluding education benefit costs) at $7 billion, with the federal government's share at $5.7 billion.

National Service on Campus

Many colleges and universities also encourage their students to perform public service under the auspices of **Campus Compact.** A project of the Education Commission of the States, Campus Compact is chaired by three prominent university presidents: **Father Timothy Healy** of Georgetown, **Donald Kennedy** of Stanford and **Howard Swearer** of Brown. It works with more than 140 colleges and universities to develop student community service programs, find financial backing for them and place the issue of youth service on the national agenda.

Also promoting national service on college campuses is the **Campus Outreach Opportunity League (COOL),** a non-profit organization that trains a network of volunteers to assist students at college campuses in setting up public service programs.

APPENDIX D

National Service Legislation

The idea of national service is also gaining momentum in Congress, where a welter of legislative proposals has been introduced. They run the gamut from sweeping measures intended to erect a nationwide program to much more modest proposals to expand existing community service efforts. National service legislation in the 100th Congress includes:

The National Service Act (H.R. 1479). Introduced by **Rep. Dave McCurdy (D-OK)**, this bill embodies the main outlines of the Moskos proposal. It would phase out existing federal student aid programs over two years, after which only youths who serve either one year in civilian service or two years in the military would qualify for post-service benefits under the G.I. Bill.

Under McCurdy's plan, participants volunteering for military service would work for two years at 50 percent of the standard pay rate for their rank, after which they would be eligible for the same education benefits granted veterans under the G.I. Bill. Civilian workers would fill positions determined by individual states for one year, for which they would receive a salary plus room and board. They would then be eligible for 60 percent of the veterans' benefits. The bill is designed to cost no more than the student aid programs it supersedes.

Voluntary National Service and Education Demonstration Program (S. 762). Introduced by **Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-RI)**, this bill has two parts. The first would provide $30 million a year for five years to test voluntary service. High school graduates aged 16 to 25 would be paid a stipend of $600 a month for up to two years of community service and would qualify for educational support of $250 per month plus tuition. No person could receive more than $7,200 each year, except military servers who would also be eligible for existing G.I. Bill benefits as an extra incentive.

The second feature of Sen. Pell's bill is a Peace Corps training and education demonstration program that would establish a five-year, $5 million program akin to the current ROTC program. Students who enter the training program and agree to serve in the Peace Corps for two years upon graduation would receive education benefits. Enrollees in this program would also during their junior and senior years spend summers working in American urban and rural poverty areas. **Rep. Con-**

nie Morella (R-MD) has introduced a House companion (H.R. 2632) to this measure.

Commission to Examine the Issues Associated with National Service, (H.R. 1468). Introduced by **Rep. Robert Torricelli (D-NJ),** this bill would create a federal commission to undertake a wide-ranging study of national service. Commission members would be appointed by the president, the Speaker of the House and the Senate Majority Leader.

Rep. Torricelli also has proposed another bill (H.R. 2225) that is the most sweeping national service proposal to date. It would require each citizen over 18 to perform one year of military or civilian service before turning 25. This bill does not provide funding but is intended to be a starting point for debate on national service legislation.

Higher Education Volunteer Amendments (S. 759/760, H.R. 2156/2157). **Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-AR)** and **Rep. Gerry Sikorski (D-MN)** have introduced two companion bills in the Senate and House that tie repayment of student loans to service in charitable and community service organizations.

The first measure directs the Department of Education to publicize an existing program under which college graduates serving as full-time, low-paid employees with tax-exempt organizations may *defer* payments on their student loans. Although begun in 1980, the program remains obscure and has therefore been underused. The second Bumpers-Sikorski bill would supplement the current program by partially forgiving repayment of student loans in exchange for service. Fifteen percent of the loans would be canceled for the first and second year of service; 20 percent for the third and fourth.

The Voluntary National Service Act (H.R. 460). Introduced by **Rep. Leon Panetta (D-CA),** this bill would provide 50-50 matching federal grants to state and local youth service programs. Young people could choose among a wide array of service opportunities for full-time work, from a minimum of six months to a maximum of two years.

American Conservation Corps Act (H.R. 18, S. 27) **Rep. Morris Udall (D-UT)** and **Sen. Daniel P. Moynihan (D-NY)** have proposed an American Conservation Corps modeled on the Depression-era Civilian Conservation Corps. (This bill narrowly passed Congress in 1984, but was vetoed by President Reagan.) Youths between the ages of 16 and 25—especially disadvantaged youngsters—would be encouraged to volunteer for up to two years of environmental work on federal and state and occasionally private lands. The proposal earmarks $75 million in federal funds for FY88-90, supplemented by state matching funds for work projects on state land.

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